

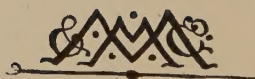
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THE FIRST PHILIPPIC & THE OLYNTHIACS
OF
DEMOSTHENES



ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α

ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΙ Α Β Γ

THE FIRST PHILIPPIC

AND

THE OLYNTHIACS

OF

DEMOSTHENES

*WITH INTRODUCTION
AND CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES*

BY

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PREFACE

THE *Philippic Orations* of Demosthenes, so far as they are certainly genuine, are eight in number, all of them belonging to the ten years between 351 and 341 B.C. These eight orations fall into two groups, parted from one another by the Peace of Philocrates in 346. The first group contains the *First Philippic* and the *Three Olynthiacs*; the second, the *Speech On the Peace*, the *Second Philippic*, the *Speech On the Chersonesus*, and the *Third Philippic*.

The present work is a first instalment of an edition of the eight *Philippic Orations* which I undertook to prepare in February 1895. Nearly the whole of this volume was prepared for the press in the Long Vacation of 1896. It has since been revised and completed during a course of College lectures given in the subsequent Michaelmas Term. It is now published in the hope of its proving useful to students, whether in the Universities or in the higher forms of public Schools.

The *Introduction* includes a sketch of the geography and early history of Macedonia; a brief review of the careers of Demosthenes and Philip down to the date of the *First Philippic*; and an analysis and summary of that Speech and of the *Three Olynthiacs*, with some discussion of the date of the former and the order of

the latter. It also touches on the textual criticism of Demosthenes, with special reference to the evidence of the MSS, the degree of importance to be attached to citations and imitations by later writers, and to certain laws of oratorical composition. It closes with a conspectus of the literature of the subject, in the form of a select list of editions, dissertations, and works of reference.

The *text*, though founded mainly on that of Dindorf as revised by Blass in the Teubner edition of 1885, not unfrequently departs from it, not only in cases where the editor has himself abandoned it, but also in others where the evidence of the MSS seems too strong to be overruled. Special attention has been paid to the punctuation; and, in *Ol.* 3 § 6, ΠΑΝΤΙ ΘΕΝΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ has been printed for the first time in a distinctive type, to show that it is virtually a quotation and not the language of Demosthenes himself.

The *critical notes* aim at supplying a conspectus of the more important various readings and of other evidence bearing on the text. It is hardly necessary to state that much has been done for the textual criticism of Demosthenes since the publication of the Zürich edition by Baiter and Sauppe in 1850. In preparing these notes I have used the *facsimile* of the Paris MS, also the critical edition of Voemel (1857), and the *Commentarius Criticus* of Blass in the three volumes of the Teubner text (1885-9). In the present speeches there is little room for conjectural emendation. In *Ol.* 1 § 3 I have proposed σφετερίζεται καὶ παρασπάζεται for the probably corrupt τρέψεται κτλ., but neither this proposal, nor one due to a Greek correspondent at Athens, is as satisfactory as a more recent suggestion, καταστρέψεται.

In writing the *explanatory notes* I have constantly consulted the French edition of Weil and the German editions of Westermann and Rehdantz as revised by Rosenberg and Blass respectively. After completing the first draft of my commentary, I have occasionally referred to several other editions, and mentioned any points that appeared to deserve notice in them. Except in points of rhetoric, which are a distinctive feature of the commentary of Rehdantz, but are perhaps best reserved for oral exposition, I have aimed at giving rather more space to points of detail than is customary in the current editions. Special attention has naturally been paid to the distinctive characteristics of the Greek of Demosthenes and to the citation of parallel passages from the Attic Orators in general. For the Syntax of the Greek Verb references are given to Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* (ed. 1889), and the results of some recent investigations on points of Demosthenic Syntax have been summarised and made accessible to English readers. Notes intended mainly for advanced students are usually printed in smaller type. Among these is a suggestive note on the festival-fund (*Ol.* 1 § 19) for which I am indebted to Mr. Leonard Whibley, Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. I may here add that, in the final revision of the proofs in general, I owe much to the skill and accuracy of the Reader on the staff of Messrs. R. & R. Clark of Edinburgh.

On the general history of the period, while I am fully conscious of the varied merits of the works of Thirlwall, Curtius, Holm and Beloch, I have found no better guide than Grote, whose judgment on political and economic questions at Athens gains additional weight from his experience as a banker

and as a Member of Parliament. Readers of his *Life* may remember that, writing to Sir George Cornwall Lewis in July 1852, he says: 'I am now in the midst of the *Philippics* and *Olynthiacs* of Demosthenes. No part of the History has been more irksome to write, because of the total want of good historical witnesses.' In matters of chronology and other questions bearing on the life and times of the orator, I have naturally made much use of the more recent work of Arnold Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*. But I hold (with others) that the Athenian expedition to Euboea which he assigns to 350 B.C. is better placed two years later, i.e. *after* instead of *before* the date usually assigned for the delivery of the *Olynthiacs* (349 B.C.) I may here recall with gratitude the help and the encouragement in the study of the Attic Orators that I have derived not only from scholars at home, such as Professor Jebb, but also from scholars abroad, Rudolf Rauchenstein of Aarau (1798–1879), Arnold Schaefer of Bonn (1819–1883), Friedrich Blass, now of Halle, and M. Rodolphe Dareste of Paris.

The deliberative or parliamentary speeches of Demosthenes, though prompted in each case by the immediate crisis, are all alike pervaded by one dominant idea, that Athens was the natural leader of Hellas, that she was bound to guard Hellenic interests against foreign aggression, and that her imperial position could only be maintained by personal sacrifices and personal service on the part of her citizens. Of the political speeches which the orator delivered between 340 and 338 B.C., when he had attained the height of his power, and actually succeeded in uniting Athens and Thebes against Philip, not one has survived. The public utterances

of this period were immediately translated into acts, and in the storm and stress of a time of crisis, there was little opportunity, and perhaps no political need, for their preservation, when they had once accomplished their purpose. It is the parliamentary speeches of the earlier time, when the orator was gradually winning his way to a commanding position—speeches which were in general not crowned by any practical result—that have descended to posterity, probably because they were reproduced immediately after their delivery, and widely circulated with a view to the formation of public opinion on the great questions of the day.

Though as a rule unsuccessful in their immediate purpose, these speeches have been universally recognised as masterpieces of eloquence. Nor are they wanting in the element of abiding interest in modern times. The earliest work of Niebuhr was an anonymous translation of the *First Philippic*, published at Hamburg in 1805 with a dedication to the Tzar of Russia and a comparison of Philip to Napoleon Bonaparte. The same comparison inspires the preface to the contemporary translation of all the public speeches by Jacobs. At Berlin in September 1813 Boeckh discoursed *de Demosthenis Philippicæ primæ loco* (4 §§ 7, 8), *praesenti patriæ statui aptissimo*, and, after translating the passage in question, he adds:—

ex huiusmodi orationibus intelligas, quantum apud Britannos, Germanorum affines nostrosque nunc socios, ad formandos oratores et viros reipublicæ gerendæ aptos Demosthenis lectio studiosa conferat.

Turning to our own country, I may add that Lord Brougham's criticisms on Demosthenes are

familiar to leading scholars abroad ; and, in a speech delivered in Edinburgh on 18th January 1854, the first Lord Lytton observes :—

‘All men in modern times, famous for their eloquence, have taken Demosthenes as their model. Many speakers in our own country have literally translated passages from his orations, and produced electrical effects upon sober English senators by thoughts first uttered to passionate Athenian crowds.’

While Demosthenes, in his *First Philippic* (4 § 25), describes the military officers of Athens as most of them staying at home, and only marching in festal processions through the market-place, the elder Pitt, in his speech on the reduction of the Land Forces (4th Feb. 1738), says in a similar spirit :—

‘As for the soldiers, I believe it may be said of at least three-fourths of them, that they never went under any fatigue except that of a review.’

In the course of a speech in the debate on the Russian armament (1st March 1792) we find the effective reply of Fox to an ‘honourable gentleman’ (Mr. Grant), who ‘to illustrate the value of Oczakow’ at the mouth of the Dnieper, then regarded as the key of Constantinople, ‘went back . . . to the days of Philip and Demosthenes’ by referring to a passage in the *Fourth Philippic* (§ 8), in which

‘Demosthenes, urging the Athenians to make war on Philip, reproached them with inattention to a few towns he had taken, the names of which they scarcely knew, telling them that those towns were the keys by which he would in time invade and overcome Greece.’

Passages of a thoroughly Demosthenic type, though too long to quote, may be found in the speeches of the younger Pitt, on the motion for augmenting the

national force in case of invasion (18th Oct. 1796 ; Pitt's *Parliamentary Speeches* ii 195) ; on the general defence bill (2nd June 1801 ; iii 301 f) ; and on the volunteer regulation bill (27th Feb. 1804 ; iii 307 f). Even in recent times the orator's description of the weakness, and his expectation of the impending fall, of a dominion 'founded' (like that of Macedonia) 'on oppression and falsehood and perjury' (*Ol.* 2 § 9)—language which may possibly have been partially justified by the facts, but was certainly not confirmed by subsequent events—finds its closest verbal parallel in the repeated criticisms of English statesmen on the 'crumbling fabric' of the Turkish Empire. Lastly, as recently as 28th October 1896, at the opening of a Unionist club at Gateshead, the Marquis of Londonderry, in speaking of the 'necessity of political education,' concluded by commending, as a text upon which Unionists might appeal to the people, the words of Demosthenes, 'In God's name, I beg of you to think' (*Third Philippic* § 43 *λονί-ξεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν*).

CAMBRIDGE,
March 1897.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	PAGE
I <i>Life of Demosthenes from 384 to 351 B.C.</i>	xv-xxvii
II <i>Macedonia before the reign of Philip</i>	xxvii-xxxiv
III <i>The reign of Philip, down to 351 B.C.</i>	xxxiv-xlv
IV <i>The First Philippic of Demosthenes</i>	xlv-lii
V <i>The Olynthiacs of Demosthenes</i>	lii-lxiii
VI <i>The order of the Olynthiacs</i>	lxiii-lxvii
VII <i>The close of the Olynthian war</i>	lxvii-lxix
VIII <i>On the evidence for the Text</i>	lxix-lxxiv
IX <i>Select List of Editions, Dissertations, and Books of Reference</i>	lxxiv-lxxviii
X <i>List of the principal abbreviations used in the Notes</i>	lxxx
GREEK TEXT WITH CRITICAL NOTES	1-69
EXPLANATORY NOTES	71-224
GREEK INDEX	225-239
ENGLISH INDEX	241-246

INTRODUCTION

I *Life of Demosthenes from 384 to 351 B.C.*

DEMOSTHENES was born in the year 384 B.C. His father, who bore the same name, was a man of considerable wealth, which was invested in a cutlery and upholstery business. Demosthenes, born 384 B.C. The future orator was in the eighth year of his age when he lost his father (376) and thus fell under the care of guardians who for ten years (376-366) mismanaged the estate. His bodily frame was weak, his health delicate, and his physical training imperfect; but, even in his youth, he aspired to become a public speaker. His young ambition was first fired by a famous speech delivered in open court by the orator Callistratus on the affair of Oropus. Hearing some of his instructors arranging to be present, he persuaded one of them to take him, and was provided with a place where he might sit unseen, and hear all that was said. He was struck by the enthusiastic congratulations which the orator afterwards received on the success of his cause, and still more by the powerful effect of an eloquence which seemed capable of carrying everything before it. Casting aside all other kinds

of learning, he concentrated all his endeavours on training himself as a speaker (Plutarch *Dem.* c. 5).

On completing his eighteenth year he came of age (366), and prepared to seek redress for the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of his guardians. For this purpose he secured the aid of Isacus, the ablest man of his time as an authority on the law of inheritance, and the influence of that expert may be traced in the speeches **Against Aphobus**, delivered

by Demosthenes in suing his guardians
 κατ' Ἀφόβου
 363 B.C. in 363 (*Or.* 27, 28, etc.) Although successful in his suit, all that he had

practically gained was a wider reputation and a higher degree of confidence in public speaking. He had happily tasted something of the fame which could be won by success in forensic pleading, and he now began to look forward to playing a part as a political speaker. But, on the first occasion on which he addressed the Assembly, he was received with derision. His timid bearing, his involved style, together with the weakness of his voice, the shortness of his breath, and the indistinctness of his articulation, had made it difficult for his audience to understand him. He left the place of assembly and went down to the Peiraeus, where he was wandering about disconsolately, when an old man, who in his boyhood had listened to Pericles, came up to him and assured him that his style was really Periclean; at the same time he upbraided him for his faint-heartedness in not facing his audience boldly, and for his neglect of his general health and his bodily powers (Plut. *Dem.* c. 6). Demosthenes himself, in his old age, told a younger orator, Demetrius of Phalerum, how he had mastered the defects of an indistinct pronunciation by

reciting long passages with pebbles in his mouth, and how he had trained his voice by declaiming when he was out of breath, either with running, or with walking up a steep ascent (c. 11). On another occasion, in his early days, when he had failed to win the ear of the Assembly, and was going home disconcerted, he was met by the actor Satyrus who drew his attention to the weak points in his delivery, and made him see by his own rehearsal the vast importance of action. In complete seclusion he daily devoted himself to the improvement of his delivery (c. 7). He also gave himself constant practice in writing down, rearranging and repeating arguments suggested in conversation with others, changing and modifying the form of expression in every possible way. This laborious method gave rise to an impression that he had no great natural aptitude for speaking, and there is no doubt as to his general reluctance to speak without due premeditation (c. 8), although, on the few occasions when he broke this rule, he did so with the most brilliant success. His usual reserve, and his indifference to any distinction that might be attained by these sudden outbursts of unpremeditated speech, were, no less than his style and delivery, inspired by a desire to follow in the footsteps of Pericles (c. 9). His own delivery was much admired in the popular Assembly, though cultivated people, like Demetrius, considered it inelegant and unmanly, while one of his own contemporaries contrasted his artificial manner and his forced pathos with the reserve and the self-possession of older speakers who discoursed with the multitude in a stately and magnificent way; admitting, however, that his speeches, when read, appeared far superior to those of others in

point of construction and in force (c. 11 §§ 3, 4). While Pericles was the orator's great exemplar, he also owed much to the historical associations by which he was surrounded. To the future statesman the monuments of art that crowned the Acropolis were eloquent memorials of the greatness of Athens in the Periclean age. He was also much indebted to the literature of his country. With the published masterpieces of Isocrates he was undoubtedly familiar, and their influence may be traced in some of the smoother and more flowing portions of the *Philippics*.¹ To Thucydides his debt was still deeper, as may be seen not only in the matter of some of his speeches, but also in the style of all. He resembles Thucydides in his brevity, conciseness and energy, in his occasional harshness and roughness, and his power of arousing the emotions, though he is certainly no slavish follower of the historian's manner, nor does he emulate his archaic and unfamiliar diction, or his anacoluthic constructions, or his far too frequent obscurity.²

Next to the speeches against his guardians, the earliest extant speech delivered by the orator himself appears to be that **On the Trierarchic Crown** (*Or.* 51). In 359 B.C. Demosthenes went to the Hellespont as trierarch under Cephisodotus, and it was probably in the same year that he delivered this speech. He here claims the crown promised to the trierarch who was the first to have his ship ready for sea. It is the

¹ *Ol.* 3 §§ 23–9. Blass *Attische Beredsamkeit* III i 89² notices the Isocratean use of the Plural of abstract words, such as *περιουσία* and *εὐπορία* in *Dem.* 3 § 33, 5 § 8.

² Dionysius Hal. *Thuc.* 53, 55. Blass *l.c.* 87 f². Cp. *Introd.* to Cicero's *Orator* pp. xxiv–xxix.

only extant speech delivered by Demosthenes before the Council of the Five Hundred.¹

Before embarking on his public career, he devoted much of his time to the not unprofitable profession of a λογογράφος, or writer of speeches to be delivered by litigants on either side in the law-courts of Athens. The earliest place among 'Private Speeches' has been assigned, on grounds of style, to the speech **Against Spudias** on a question of dowry (*Or.* 41) and to that **Against Callicles** in a claim for damages caused by cutting off an alleged water-course (*Or.* 55). The speech **Against Conon** in a case of assault and battery is sometimes ascribed to this period (*Or.* 54).²

πρὸς
Σπουδῖαν
πρὸς
Καλλικλέα
κατὰ
Κόνωνος.

A second period of the orator's career opens with the close of the Social War in 355. At the beginning of this period stands the **κατ' Ἀνδρο-**
speech Against Androtion (*Or.* 22), **τίωνος** 355 B.C.
written for one Diodorus, attacking as illegal Andro-
tion's proposal to confer a golden crown on the out-
going Council in spite of the fact that in its year of
office it had added no new ships to the navy. The
importance to Athens of an effective navy is here
emphasised by an appeal to the experience of the
past; and, although large portions of the speech
are solely concerned with points of law, the closing
passage (§§ 67-78) has the same lofty tone that is
attained in the great deliberative speeches of subse-
quent years. In particular, the fine allusion to
'the former achievements' of Athens, and to 'the
splendour of the sacred edifices raised to commemorate

¹ Blass III i 242² f.

² ASchaefer *Dem. und seine Zeit* iii B 251. Clinton sug-
gests 341 B.C. Cp. *Select Private Orations* ii³ pp. lxiii, 242.

them, yonder Propylaea, the Parthenon, the porticos and arsenals' (22 § 76) is repeated three years later in the speech *Against Aristocrates* (23 § 207), and finds an echo six years later in the *Third Olynthiac* :—

The public works (of our forefathers) are edifices and ornaments of such beauty and grandeur, in temples and in dedicated offerings, that posterity has no power to surpass them (3 § 25).

To the following year, 354, belongs the first speech delivered by Demosthenes himself in a forensic cause of public interest, the speech πρὸς Δεπτιν-
νῆν 354 B.C. **Against the Law of Leptines** (*Or.* 20). The law in question abolished the hereditary privileges bestowed on public benefactors and made it illegal to grant such privileges for the future. Demosthenes attacks this law as unconstitutional, inexpedient, and dishonourable, as involving a breach of public faith and a slur on the good name of Athens. The tone of the speech, delivered (it will be remembered) by the orator himself, as contrasted with the scathing invective directed against the life of Androtion in a speech written for another, is marked by a studious moderation, and even by courtesy towards the orator's opponents. He here appears as 'a sound constitutional lawyer, or rather a sagacious politician, warning his countrymen against the dangers of an unwise measure of legislation.'¹ He dwells in glowing terms on the exploits of the Athenian commanders, Conon (§§ 68–74) and Chabrias (§§ 75–86); and he refers, for the first time, to Philip of Macedon, to his capture of Pydna (in 357) and Poteidaea (in 356), and

¹ CRKennedy *Dem. against Leptines etc.* p. 235. Cp. *Introd.* to *Leptines* p. xxxviii.

to the bounties which were the source of his influence over his adherents (§§ 61, 63).

To the latter part of the same year belongs the first deliberative, or parliamentary, speech of Demosthenes that has come down to us,—

the speech **On the Symmories**, which περὶ τῶν
συμμοριῶν
354 B.C. is also the first of his three Hellenic

orations (*Or.* 14). The debate is on war with Persia, and the orator seizes the opportunity to lay down some leading principles of foreign policy and to propose a measure for the reform of the navy. The proposal is connected with the recent application to the trierarchy of the system of ‘symmories’ already applied to the war-tax.¹ It aims at ensuring greater promptitude in naval preparations by means of a better organisation, by breaking up the larger boards into smaller groups, and by assigning to each group a corresponding portion of the fleet and its proper share of the funds.² The reform is introduced in terms that form a forecast of the tone of the *Philippics*.

The first and foremost point in our preparations is for every citizen to be willing and eager to do his duty. Whenever you have all had a common wish and every man has thereupon deemed that its accomplishment depended on himself, nothing has ever escaped you. On the other hand, whenever you have wished only, and then looked at one another, each expecting to be idle, while his neighbour did the work, nothing has ever come to pass (14 § 15).

Though actual foes of Athens in Greece, as contrasted with contingent enemies such as Persia,

¹ See note on 2 § 29 l. 270.

² 14 §§ 16–23; Butcher's *Demosthenes* pp. 37 f.

are vaguely indicated, there is no real reference to Philip (§ 11). For the present, the orator seems hardly conscious of the distant cloud that is destined ere long to darken the Hellenic horizon.

In the following year the client for whom Demosthenes had composed the speech *Against*

Androtion, secured his services for a
 κατά
 Τιμοκράτους similar speech *Against Timocrates*.
 353 B.C.

Androtion had been acquitted, but he had since been required to refund certain public moneys which he had embezzled, and, in default, he was liable to imprisonment as a debtor to the State. In the interest of Androtion and others in the same position, Timocrates proposed and carried a measure for extending the period during which payment of public debts might be made, and for this measure he was indicted by Diodorus. Large portions of the speech are almost identical with that *Against Androtion*, many of the arguments are merely verbal and technical, some of them even captious and sophistical. A higher level, however, is reached in the appeal to the public interests which would be imperilled if the State were prevented from enforcing payment of its dues.

Even without such a law as this, we might congratulate ourselves if we could meet the sudden emergencies of war ; but, with it, supposing you should be summoned to arms in your own defence, do you suppose that the enemy will await the dilatory subterfuges of miscreants at home? (§§ 94-5). The defendant has deluded you into passing a law which not merely opens but actually destroys our prison-house, and makes our courts of justice useless (§ 209). It is the laws that are the morals of the State (§ 210). It is the laws that preserve and consolidate all our advantages (§ 216).

To the same year belongs the second of the three Hellenic orations. The new city of Megalopolis had been created by Epaminondas by a union of the scattered villages of the Arcadian league, and at this moment the pressure of the Phocian war (355–346 B.C.) prevented Thebes from being able to protect it. Sparta seized the opportunity to propose a general restoration of ancient rights, the restitution of Oropus to Athens, and of Messene to Sparta, and the dissolution of Megalopolis. Being thus threatened by Sparta, and unable to obtain help from Thebes, Megalopolis sent for aid to Athens. In the speech **For the Megalopolitans** (*Or.* 16) Demosthenes in the main supported their plea, insisting on the maintenance of the balance of power between Thebes and Sparta, pointing to his country's traditional policy of protecting the oppressed, and urging finally that it would be a grave mistake to drive the Arcadians to seek help elsewhere. We have no direct information as to the vote taken at the close of the debate; but we know that war ensued between Sparta and Megalopolis, and that Athens remained neutral. We know above all that, when the Arcadians were once more in distress, taught perhaps by their present experience, they applied for aid (and not in vain)—not to Athens but to the king of Macedon.

ὑπὲρ Μεγα-
λοπολιτῶν
353 B.C.

It may here be convenient to mention the third of the Hellenic orations, that **On the Liberty of the Rhodians** (*Or.* 15). It resembles the speech *For the Megalopolitans* in so far as it is a reply to an appeal for aid against oppression; it resembles that *On the Symmories* in its attitude towards the power of Persia. The death of Maussolus, prince of Caria, and the succession of

περὶ τῆς
Ῥοδίων ἐλευ-
θερίας 353 or
351 B.C.

[illegible]

δοκῶν Φίλιππος οὐτοσί (23 § 121). What Philip had done for Olynthus and the return he had received are here described. Philip had delivered Poteidaea to the Olynthians 'after he had expended large sums in the war with you, when he had taken and might have held it himself; yet the Olynthians trust him so little now, that they have made friends of you, who they know would most gladly kill both Philip's friends and Philip himself, and they promise to make you their allies also' (§§ 107-9). Philip is afterwards pointed out as an obvious example of reckless ambition.

I need not ask, men of Athens, if you know of that Macedonian, Philip. Though it was more desirable for him to receive the revenues of all Macedonia in peace than those of Amphipolis with peril, and to be connected with yourselves as his hereditary allies than with the faithless Thessalians, he has chosen to make small profits and to have treacherous friends and to incur danger in preference to living in security. Prosperity and prudence do not go together: many, by aiming at greater things, often lose what they have already (§§ 111-3).

The speech *Against Aristocrates* failed in its immediate purpose. In the following year Chari-demus was still in the service of Athens; for, in the autumn of 351 B.C., he was sent on a mission to the Thracian Chersonesus. Philip had invaded Thrace twelve months before, and the rival princes, Amadocus and Cersobleptes, had submitted to his control.¹ Henceforth, it was no longer against petty Thracian princes that Athens had to protect the Chersonesus, but against the ever growing and increasing might of Macedonia.

Having briefly traced the career of Demosthenes

¹ ASchaefer i 446 f².

down to the time when he first appeared as the opponent of Philip in the *First Philippic*, we now turn to a retrospective view of the rise and progress of the Macedonian power.

II *Macedonia before the reign of Philip*

The name of Macedonia was originally confined to the inland district between the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon; but, even before the accession of Philip, Macedonia had Geography of Macedonia. gradually extended itself, until its limit to the south was Thessaly, to the north Paeonia, to the west Illyria and the northern continuation of the range of Pindus, while to the east it successively reached the Axios and the Strymon. The mountain-ranges stretching eastward from Pindus divide the country into a series of deep valleys encircled by lofty heights and admitting of very slight communication with one another. These successive valleys are known as the districts of Orestis and Elimia, both traversed by the Haliacmon; that of the Eordaei near the source of the Lydias; that of Lyncestis near the rise of the Erigon; and lastly the valley of the Axios which receives the Erigon in the earlier part of its course, and, after flowing through the vast upland plain of Pelagonia, bursts through a ravine now known as the Iron Gate, and ultimately falls into the bay of Therma, near the outlet of the united streams of the Lydias and Haliacmon. While Macedonia in itself is thus pre-eminently a highland region remote from the sea, and difficult of access owing to its mountain-ranges, the inaccessibility caused by its mountains is in part corrected by its rivers. All of these find their way into the same

part of the bay of Therma and thus connect the inland districts with the sea. But the upper region was the home of the Macedonians proper, the 'highlanders' as their name appears to imply,¹ while very different tribes dwelt below on the fringe of coast which derived its name of Emathia from the sand of the shore (*ἄμαθος*). Emathia extends from Pieria in the SW., and, after passing the early settlements of the Bottiaei, ends in the NE., near the head of the bay, at the hot springs which lend their name to the ancient town of Therma. Pieria was the legendary home of the Muses and was also one of the haunts of Dionysus, while Bottiaea had received from Crete the worship of Apollo. The coast was afterwards colonised by traders from Euboea, and, between Pieria and Bottiaea, there was founded the Eretrian colony of Methone.

But, while the coast-land of Emathia had close affinities with Hellas in its climate and its vegetation and in its nearness to the sea, the upland districts became more and more secluded from Hellenic civilisation. Yet an intimate connexion had once subsisted between the Macedonians and the original Hellenic stock. The Dorians themselves, says Herodotus (i 56, viii 43), had once been 'Macedonians,' and the Doric and Aeolic dialects are represented in the scanty remains of the Macedonian tongue.² But, down to the time of Alexander the Great, the language was hardly intelligible to the Hellenes,³ who accordingly regarded as 'barbarians'⁴

¹ Otto Abel *Makedonien vor König Philipp* 1847 p. 97.

² Abel pp. 116-8.

³ Curtius vi 9, 35; cp. Pausan. iv 29 § 3.

⁴ Thuc. iv 124, 2; 125, 1; 126, 3; Dem. 3 §§ 16, 24; 9 § 31; 19 §§ 305, 327; Isocr. 5 §§ 107 f.

a nation which had probably belonged to the same original stock but represented a type of civilisation which had been arrested at an early stage of development.¹ In contrast to the Macedonians the Illyrians were really barbarians, and it is probably from the latter that the modern Albanians are descended.²

The Hellenic settlements on the coast of Emathia were in themselves incapable of effecting the Hellenisation of the Macedonian highlands. Hellenic influence reached them by a distant route through the Heracleidae of Argos, who possibly followed in the track of the Corinthian settlers in Illyria on the shores of the Adriatic, and thence travelled eastward into Macedonia. This branch of the Heracleidae claimed descent from Temenus of Argos;³ their first settlement was in the mountainous region of Orestis near the source of the Haliacmon; their chief place bore the same name as their former home in Argos, and gave its name in turn to the Macedonian dynasty of the Argeadae.⁴

From Argos on the Haliacmon the Macedonian capital was transferred at an early date to Aegae, which stands in a fine and healthy situation below the source of the Lydias. From the lofty site of Aegae a long ridge of wooded cliff, with frequent waterfalls tumbling down its face, commands a splendid view of green woodland, and, beyond the woodland, a vast undulating plain extending toward the sea and enclosed by snow-clad mountains.⁵ To

¹ Abel pp. 115-22.

² ib. p. 84, Curtius *Hist. of Greece* v 17; cp. Thuc. iv 127.

³ Herod. viii 137, ix 45, Thuc. ii 99, 3, v 80, Isocr. 5 § 32.

⁴ Curtius *Hist. of Greece* v 12 22, Holm *Hist. of Greece* iii c. 14.

⁵ E. Lear *Journals of a Landscape Painter in Albania and Illyria*, view of Vodhená (the ancient Aegae or Edessa), opp. p. 37.

the south is the mighty mass of Olympus rising nearly 10,000 feet above the sea ; between Olympus and the coast is the district of Pieria, with the frontier town of Dium ; to the north of Dium is Methone, and between the two, but nearer to Methone, is Pydna, the future seaport of Alexander I. Thirty miles to the east, midway between Aegae and Therma, and fifteen miles from the sea, rise amid the marshes the low hills which mark the site of Pella, the future capital of Archelaus, the metropolis of Philip and the birth-place of Alexander the Great. To the right of a line fifty miles long, stretching from Aegae to Therma, is the general direction of the Lydias, and, in the same line as the latter, the view extends beyond the bay to the dimly visible coast of the western portion of Chalcidice. Of the three peninsulas of Chalcidice, which project like a trident into the northern Aegean, the nearest, Pallene, is joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus on which stands a city of Poseidon, the Corinthian colony of Poteidaea. A few miles to the NE. of this is Olynthus, near the head of the bay of Torone. Beyond that bay is the peninsula of Sithonia with its lofty and broken mountains ; and beyond a second bay the peninsula of Acte rising in undulations from the site of the canal of Xerxes until it forms a central ridge 4000 feet in height, and finally ends in the vast conical peak of Athos, more than 6000 feet above the sea.¹ Chalcidice, with its deep bays and long peninsulas, resembles the south of the Peloponnesus, and is in fact a second Hellas on a smaller scale in the northern Aegean ; hence its attractiveness to the Hellenic colonists from Chalcis and Corinth. East

¹ Tozer *Geography of Greece* pp. 200-6, *Islands of the Aegean* p. 279.

of Chalcidice is the bay which derives its name from the Strymon. That Thracian river, shortly after flowing through Lake Prasias, reaches a point where, at the distance of only three miles from the sea, it washes on three sides the commanding site of the Athenian colony of Amphipolis.¹ Amphipolis is ninety miles due east of Aegae; and about twelve miles south of a line drawn from Aegae to Amphipolis is Therma, fifty miles distant from both.

The three foremost kings of Macedonia before the time of Philip were Alexander I, Perdiccas II and Archelaus. The first of these, whose Alexander I,
498-454 B.C. personality is almost as attractive as that of his namesake, Alexander the Great, was, at the time of the Persian invasion, compelled to surrender to Xerxes. But he was thoroughly Hellenic at heart, and gained thereby the distinctive title of Alexander the Philhellene.² He it was who, in the year 480, warned the Greeks against the peril of occupying the pass of Tempe (Herod. vii 173). Trusted by Greeks and Persians alike, he was sent in the following year as a Persian envoy to Athens; and, after the battle of Plataea, he openly declared himself the enemy of Persia. When Mycenae was destroyed by Argos in 468, most of the exiled Mycenaeans found refuge with him (Paus. vii 25). He made good his right to be allowed to compete as a Greek at the Olympic games, in which he ran a dead-heat with the winner of the foot-race (Herod. v 22), and he was also the theme of an encomium by Pindar.³

¹ Duruy *Histoire des Grecs* iii 198, *Vue des ruines d'Amphipolis*.

² Schol. Thuc. i 57, Harp. s.v., Dio Chrys. *Or.* 2 p. 25 M.

³ Fragm. 121 [86] ὀλβίων ὁμῶννυμε Δαρδανιδῶν | παῖ θρασύ-
μηδες Ἀμύντα.

To his time belongs the widest expansion of the Macedonian territory before the days of Philip.

Alexander I was ultimately succeeded by Perdiccas II, who, after ousting his eldest brother and dividing the dominion with his second brother, became sole ruler from 436 to 413. During the early part of his reign he was on friendly terms with Athens; but, in 432, he openly espoused the cause of Poteidaea, which had shaken off the Athenian yoke. It was mainly at his instigation that in 424 the Spartan commander, Brasidas, set out on his memorable expedition to Macedonia and Thrace (Thuc. iv 79); but, before the close of the following year, he abandoned the Spartan alliance and concluded peace with Athens. Thenceforward he supported one or other of the belligerent parties according to the promptings of his own interests at the moment. In the course of his reign Athens and Macedonia came to know one another as irreconcilable adversaries.

The internal condition of Macedonia is first revealed to us by the expedition of Sitalces, king of the Odrysian tribe of Thracians, in 429 B.C. The full dominion of Perdiccas was then limited to the lower provinces near the sea. As the Macedonians had no navy, these provinces were constantly exposed to the attacks of the Greeks, who were in possession of a great part of the coast. There was little internal commerce, for there were no regular roads. The people lived mostly in open villages; fortified places were rare; and there was scarcely any organised military force.¹

¹ Thuc. ii 95-101, Thirlwall iii 165.

The foundations of Macedonia's future greatness were laid by Archelaus I. He built fortresses, developed the means of communication between distant portions of his dominions, and equipped himself with an ample supply of horses and arms (Thuc. ii 100). He was also a patron of art and literature. His palace was embellished with paintings by Zeuxis; and his court was attended by the famous musician, Timotheus, and the celebrated poets, Choerilus, Agathon and Euripides.¹

Archelaus, who had attained the throne by crime, was assassinated in 399. After ten years of confusion, the throne was filled by Amyntas II (389–370), a representative of the old royal family, a great-grandson of Alexander I. His reign was disturbed by Illyrian invasions, and it was not until Sparta had broken the power of Olynthus (379) that he was enabled to recover his own dominions. He continued to his death in close alliance with Sparta; but he also cultivated the friendship of Athens. He professed to favour the claims of Athens to the possession of Amphipolis, and he is said to have adopted as his son the Athenian commander Iphicrates (Aeschin. 2 §§ 28, 32). Of his own sons, the eldest, Alexander II, reigned for two years (370–368). In 368, when Iphicrates was on the coast in command of a small squadron, which had been sent to act against Amphipolis, he was invited to an interview with the widowed queen Eurydice, who placed her surviving sons Perdiccas and Philip as suppliants beside him, and thus moved him to turn his arms against a pretender to the throne and to expel him from the kingdom (ib. §§ 28 f). A contest which had arisen

¹ Introd. to Eur. *Bacchae* pp. xxxv–vii.

between Alexander II and Ptolemy of Alorus had been submitted to the arbitration of the Theban commander, Pelopidas; and in 368 Philip, who was then fifteen, was taken by Pelopidas as a hostage to Thebes. There he remained for three years, and, in the society of men like Pelopidas and Epaminondas, laid the foundation of his future military success. Probably he also enjoyed a rhetorical training; in after life his talent as a speaker was acknowledged by Aeschines and even by Demosthenes (ib. § 41). It was possibly owing to a suggestion of Plato's pupil, Euphraeus, that his elder brother Perdiccas III, who succeeded Ptolemy as king in 365, allowed him to rule in person over part of the Macedonian territory (Athen. 506 E). He there organised a small military force, thus putting into practice the lessons he had learnt during his residence at Thebes.

III *The reign of Philip, down to 351 B.C.*

On the death of Perdiccas (359) Philip found himself constrained to assume the crown. Of his three half-brothers he put to death one; ^{Philip,} the other two, Menelaus and Arrhidaeus, _{359-336 B.C.} escaped to Olynthus.

‘Philip was at this time twenty-three years of age, of a noble figure and princely bearing, master of all that skilfulness of conduct, all that versatility and knowledge of the world which were only to be acquired in Greek cities; he spoke and wrote Greek fluently and with taste. But he took care not to give offence by his foreign culture, for he wished not to appear a stranger among the Macedonians. He hunted and feasted with them . . . ; he was the best swimmer and horseman, and in all

national exercises and social pleasures the most excellent of comrades to the young nobility, whom he contrived to sway, without allowing them to become aware of the real cause of his superiority. He had many of the ways of a barbaric prince, . . . he could be savage and intemperate, . . . but he never lost sight of his higher aims. He was resentful or merciful, courageous or cunning, obstinate or ready with concessions, as circumstances required. He exemplified that combination of royal dignity, natural vigour and Hellenic culture, which was necessary if Macedonia was at last to be made strong at home and powerful abroad.¹

‘There were three powers, upon the relations of whom to Macedonia all ulterior successes depended. These were *Athens* at the head of her Maritime league, commanding the coast of the Thermaean Gulf; *Amphipolis* on the Strymon; and *Olynthus* on the Thracian peninsula, the mighty city enjoying the primacy among the Greek towns of the surrounding district. If these three acted in unison, nothing was to be accomplished; for then Macedonia must remain an inland and a petty state, in an oppressive condition of dependence upon foreign powers. The one thing absolutely indispensable, therefore, was that the Greeks should not penetrate the designs of Philip; they must be kept deceived and divided as long as possible; and by their mutual distrust one Greek city must be made to promote Philip’s scheme against the other.’²

Philip’s first act was to buy off the enmity of the Thracians by suitable presents and promises. He next reorganised his forces, encouraged his friends and soldiers by spirited harangues, and contrived to defer to a more convenient moment the threatening

¹ Curtius *History of Greece* Book vi c. i vol. v 41 f ET. (slightly altered).

² ib. p. 46. On Amphipolis, ib. 47 f; on Olynthus, 272 f.

attack of the Athenians. Athens had been espousing the cause of a pretender to the throne, named Argæus ; her purpose in the war which she had been carrying on for some years was the possession of Amphipolis. Philip professed his readiness to give up this important place, withdrawing the Macedonian garrison and leaving the town to its own citizens. At Athens this would naturally be regarded as equivalent to an actual cession. He also sent a dispatch to Athens, announcing his readiness to make an alliance with her, and to renew his hereditary friendship (Dem. 23 § 121). After defeating the supporters of Argæus, he treated the few Athenians whom he then captured with the most considerate courtesy, sending them back to Athens full of gratitude to himself, as the bearers of conciliatory messages to their countrymen. In concluding peace, Philip renounced all claim to Amphipolis, acknowledging this town as rightfully belonging to Athens. In so doing he was not really abandoning any lawful possession of his own. Amphipolis had never belonged to the kings of Macedonia. It was only three or four years before (363) that it had been entered by Macedonian soldiers sent to aid the citizens to defend it from Athens. The Athenians were content, being assured by their self-esteem that the Amphipolitans themselves would never oppose their acknowledged claims.

Philip next turned to his enemies in the interior. He marched up the Axios, and defeated the Paeonians. He next attacked the Illyrians in western Macedonia, and reduced to subjection all the tribes east of Lake Lychnitis.

Meanwhile, the Athenians had been unsuccessfully

engaged in military operations in the Thracian Chersonesus. Their commander Timotheus, after contending with success against Olynthus and her neighbours on the gulf of Therma, but with very poor results against Amphipolis, had in 363 transferred his forces to the war against Cotys, king of Thrace. In the operations near the Chersonesus and before Amphipolis, he was succeeded by commanders who failed in their object. In 359 Cotys was assassinated; his successor was the youthful Cersobleptes, who had the support of the well-known commander of mercenaries, Charidemus; the kingdom was now divided between Cersobleptes, Amadocus and Berisades; and the Chersonesus, including Sestos, was restored to Athens (359).

✕ It was probably in consequence of these operations in the Chersonesus that, although Amphipolis was evacuated by Philip in 359, nevertheless, for more than a year, Athens made no attempt to regain it. She was far more active in recovering her influence in Euboea. Since the battle of Leuctra (371) that island had passed into the power of Thebes. In 357 discontent broke out, and Chalcis and Eretria sent urgent messages for aid from Athens. The people were roused to enthusiasm by the stirring appeal of Timotheus reported to us by Demosthenes, who was doubtless present in the Assembly:—‘When the Thebans are in the island, are you *still* debating what to do? Will you not cover the sea with ships? Will you not start up at once and march to the Peiraeus? Will you not launch your triremes?’ (8 § 74). Demosthenes himself was one of those who volunteered as trierarch, and within thirty days the Thebans had found themselves compelled to evacuate the island. Thus, in 357, by the recovery

of Euboea and the Chersonesus, Athens reached the height of her success since her organisation of the second maritime confederacy twenty years before (end of 378). Her success was, however, soon impaired by the important events of the Social War and the conquests of Philip in Thrace.

In 357 Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Byzantium revolted from Athens. At Chios the Athenians were repulsed, and Chabrias, the victor of Naxos, died the death of a hero on the deck of his trireme. In the following year Iphicrates, Timotheus and Chares were unsuccessful in their operations in the Hellespont; the first two were accused by the third of deserting him at a critical moment; Timotheus was sentenced to pay a heavy fine (354), and within the next two years both of the colleagues of Chares died. Chares himself had meanwhile been so inadequately supported by Athens that he found himself forced to take service under Artabazus (Dem. 4 § 24), a satrap in rebellion against the Persian king, Artaxerxes III. The king threatened to attack Athens; and the Social War was promptly brought to an end. A peace was sworn by which Athens recognised the complete independence of the cities which had revolted from her (355).

The Social War, inglorious in its results, had seriously impoverished the Athenian treasury. In the speech *Against the Law of Leptines* (354) Demosthenes avowed that 'the State had no funds of her own' (20 § 24), clothing his admission of her poverty in the famous euphemism:—'In the days of Pericles our State was rich both in land and in money; whereas now, her prosperity is still in the future' (ἐν πορίσει, § 115). The war had also

weakened her power, and made her less able to withstand the aggressions of Philip.

Athens having failed to secure Amphipolis, Philip took steps to resume his control over that city. He began an active siege, bringing his military engines to bear upon walls whose weak points were familiar to some of his soldiers who had recently occupied the place. The inhabitants found themselves forced to apply to Athens. Their envoys Hierax and Stratocles (1 § 8) urgently invited Athens to occupy Amphipolis as its only chance of rescue from Macedonian dominion. Philip neutralised this appeal by sending the Athenians a courteous letter, informing them that he was besieging the town, recognising once more that it was to them that it rightfully belonged, and promising to restore it when he had taken it (23 § 116, [7] § 27). The future destinies of Greece turned in large measure on the way in which Athens was to deal with these conflicting messages.

The importance of the position of Amphipolis was obvious. It commanded the passage of the Strymon, it was the key to the gold-mines of Mount Pangaeus, and it closed the eastward advance of Macedonia (cp. Thuc. iv 108, 1). If once it could be secured by Athens, she could easily retain it by means of her maritime power in the northern Aegean. But Athens did nothing. The peril which threatened Amphipolis was in fact not displeasing to Athens, but she failed to see that the interests of her undutiful colony were now her own interests also. On the other hand, she had made peace with Philip only a year before, and felt indisposed to mistrust him so soon. The assurances of Philip were accepted, and the envoys from Amphipolis dismissed with a refusal.

Amphipolis held out as long as it could ; at length a breach was made in the walls, and Philip, with the aid of a party of traitors in Amphipolis taken 357 B.C. the town, carried it by assault after a brave resistance. Thenceforward Amphipolis became one of the bulwarks of Macedonia until the conquest of that kingdom by Rome.

The fall of Amphipolis alarmed Olynthus, and the latter sent to negotiate a treaty with Athens. But Philip's partisans procured the dismissal of the Olynthian envoys by renewed assurances that he remained the friend of Athens, and was still disposed to cede Amphipolis as her rightful possession. They even suggested that Philip had good reason for resenting the fact that Athens was retaining the ancient Macedonian township of Pydna. Accordingly, negotiations were opened for the exchange of Pydna against Amphipolis. But, as Pydna was known to be opposed to the transfer, these treacherous negotiations were kept a secret (note on 2 § 6 l. 58). The Assembly, being informed that negotiations, necessarily secret, were proceeding for the acquisition of Amphipolis, was persuaded to repel the advances of Olynthus and to continue to regard Philip as its friend (2 § 6).

These secret negotiations, of which Athens had good reason to be ashamed, ended in worse than nothing. The Olynthians, irritated by their repulse at Athens, accepted a treaty with Philip (late in 357). He purchased their friendship by immediately ceding to them the district of Anthemus, lying between Olynthus and Therma, and by promising to join them in an attack on the important Athenian possession of Poteidaea (6 § 20). Athens being now distracted by the disasters of the Social

War, towards the end of 357, Philip attacked Pydna, which was betrayed by a party of traitors in the town (1 § 5, 20 § 63). The siege Pydna taken late in 357 B.C. lasted long enough for an appeal for aid to be sent to Athens; but, if any aid was sent, it arrived too late. Several Athenian citizens captured at Pydna were sold into slavery, some of them being afterwards ransomed out of the private resources of Demosthenes (Plut. ii 851).

Philip next attacked Poteidaea, the key of the peninsula of Pallene, a source of constant annoyance to its northern neighbour Olynthus only a few miles distant at the head of the bay of Torone. The Olynthians readily aided in the siege (2 § 14, 23 §§ 107 f). Though the operations were protracted, and there was actually a body Poteidaea taken early in 356 B.C. of Athenians settled in the place, the Athenians were slow in sending succours, and their help arrived too late (4 § 35, 1 § 9).

By the capture of Pydna and Poteidaea Philip had deprived Athens of her hold on the gulf of Therma; where, of all the conquests of Timotheus, her only remaining possession was the town of Methone. Philip had conciliated the good-will of the Olynthians, had strengthened his hold on Amphipolis, and extended his dominion eastward of the Strymon among the gold-mines of the Pangaeian Mount. He seized the Thracian shore facing the island of Thasos; in the interior, he founded a new city called Philippi, and caused a new gold coin to be struck bearing a name derived from his own.¹ The fresh source of wealth now opened to him furnished means for rewarding his agents in Hellas, and for meeting the

¹ Horace *Ep.* II i 234 *rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, philippos.*

ever-increasing expense of his military force. In the summer of 356, not long after the capture of Poteidaea, Philip received at nearly the same time three messengers with good news from three different quarters, one of them telling him of the defeat of the Illyrians by his general Parmenion; another, of the victory of his race-horse at the Olympic games; and a third, of the birth of a son who was afterwards renowned as Alexander the Great.

The Social War had not yet ended when a new source of embarrassment arose in the Sacred War, **The Sacred War** which was destined to redound to **355-346 B.C.** the advantage of no other cause than that of Macedonian aggression. Complaints were brought before the Amphictyonic Council, first by Thebes against Sparta for her seizure of the Cadmea (383), and next by Thebes against the Phocians for cultivating a portion of the sacred plain of Cirrha. In punishment for the latter offence the Council appropriated to Apollo the territory of Phocis. The Phocians rose in arms under Philomelus, claimed the control of the Delphic temple, and seized Delphi itself. A league was formed against them by the Thebans; and, with a view to paying mercenaries to confront the Thebans, Locrians, and Thessalians, part of the sacred treasures of Delphi were appropriated by the Phocians. Their leader, Philomelus, being slain in battle (354), was succeeded by Onomarchus, who advanced as far as Thermopylae and also invaded Boeotia, but was repulsed by the Thebans.

In 353 we find Philip attacking Methone. News of its peril reached Athens, but the expedition **Methone taken** sent to relieve it arrived too late. Here, **353 B.C.** again, some citizens of Athens were sold as slaves, to be subsequently ransomed by Demo-

sthenes. Having thus secured a seaport which had never belonged to Macedonia, and was now the last position held by Athens on the gulf of Therma, Philip began to extend his power towards the pass of Thermopylae.

It was the Aleuadae of Larissa who invited him into Thessaly to aid them against Lycophron, the despot of Pherae. Lycophron in turn sought help from Onomarchus and the Phocians. The Phocian commander defeated Philip in two battles; but, after an interval, Philip repaired his forces and returned to Thessaly, gaining a complete victory over Onomarchus, who was himself slain in the engagement (352). He thus put an end to the power of the Phocians north of Thermopylae, crushed the dynasty of Pherae, conquered Pherae itself and its port of Pagasae, and became master of all Thessaly.

He next invaded Thermopylae. But Athens, which, as usual, had been just too late to aid Pagasae (4 § 35), was at last really ^{Thermopylae} alarmed and made an unwonted effort, ^{352 B.C.} which was carried out with an exceptional promptitude. A strong force arrived in good time, and Philip withdrew from his proposed attack. In after days Demosthenes, in combating the general remissness of his countrymen, often reminded them of this unwonted act of energy which had been crowned with complete success (4 § 17, 18 § 32, 19 § 322).

In November 352 Athens received intelligence that Philip, who had attacked Abdera and Maroneia on his way towards the Chersonesus, Ἡραίων τεῖχος was besieging Ἡραίων τεῖχος. A vote ^{besieged Nov. 352.} was immediately passed at Athens to raise ten talents in money and to send out a fleet of forty triremes manned with Athenian citizens (3 § 4).

But, before the vote was carried out, rumours reached Athens that Philip had fallen ill, and even that he was actually dead. His military operations in Thrace were for a time suspended. He attacked the territory of Olynthus (4 § 17, 1 § 13),¹ and Athens contented herself with sending to Thrace a feeble force under Charidemus—merely ten triremes without soldiers on board and with only five talents in money (3 § 5).²

Though Philip had been kept out of southern Greece, yet in Thessaly and to the north of Thermopylae Macedonian ascendancy was thenceforward an indisputable fact. Philip began to inspire alarm throughout the Hellenic world, and the results of his generalship and his restless activity were everywhere felt. At three important points, near Amphipolis, and also at Methone and Pagasae, Philip's power now reached the sea, over which Athens had hitherto enjoyed an almost undisputed control.³ He soon contrived to get together a sufficient number of armed ships and privateers. The navy of Athens was doubtless far superior, but it was practically ineffective owing to the languor and remissness of her citizens. Philip retained possession of the important port of Pagasae, he levied large contributions on the insular allies of Athens, and recouped himself for the costs of war by capturing the merchantmen of the Aegean. His squadrons descended on the Athenian islands of Lemnos and Imbros, carrying off several Athenian citizens as prisoners. They even reached as far as the south-eastern foreland of Euboea, where they cut off the corn-ships bound for Athens; and lastly they suddenly swooped down upon the

¹ Early in 351, ASchaefer ii 56², 122².

² October 351.

³ Rehdantz-Blass p. 15.

historic bay of Marathon and carried off the 'sacred trireme' on its way to Delos (4 § 34, May 352 ?).

IV *The First Philippic of Demosthenes*

In 351 B.C. the leaders of the peace-party at Athens, men who deserve the fullest credit for checking Philip at Thermopylae, proposed no further measures of energetic resistance to the aggressor. They shrank from an appeal to the patriotism of their countrymen. The indispensable duty which they thus neglected was discharged by a far younger politician, who was then beneath them in position and influence, Demosthenes, who, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, now delivered his *First Philippic*. It had been usual for κατὰ Φιλίπ-
που α' 351 B.C. speakers of advanced age and mature experience to rise first after the subject of the debate had been announced. But on the present occasion the first to rise was Demosthenes. His speech was to the following effect:—

Our customary advisers have so often spoken on the subject of this debate, that I may be excused for rising first on the present occasion (1). A. προοίμιον
(*exordium*).
Introduction.

First of all, you must not despair. The best omen for the future is your failure in the past, for that failure is simply due to the fact that you have never yet done your duty (2). In the next place, there was once a time when you contended with honour against Sparta; if you take the same precautions now, you have nothing to fear (3). If any of you deem Philip difficult to conquer, remember that, if Philip had held that view about others, he would have accomplished nothing himself. But he saw that all your strongholds, Pydna, Poteidaea and B. ἀπόδειξις.
Discussion
(*tractatio*) §§ 2-50.
I διήγησις.
Survey of the
situation §§ 2-12.

Methone, were open to him as the prizes of war, and he has had the energy to secure them (4-6). If you will once more become your own masters by doing *personal service*, you will recover all that you have lost and will punish Philip (7). His power is not immortal. He has his enemies in whom he inspires hatred, fear and envy; but these feelings find no place of refuge owing to your own indolence (8). While we dally and delay, he is continually enlarging his circle and enveloping us on all sides with his toils (9). *When*, I ask, will you do your duty? 'When the necessity arises.' Why! the strongest necessity a free man knows is shame for his cause. Meanwhile, you lounge about and ask one another the news of the day: could any news be more startling than that a man of Macedonia is ordering and directing the affairs of Hellas? (10). As for the rumours of his death, or illness, they are immaterial: if he dies, you will soon, by your negligence, create another Philip (11). It is only by being at the scene of action that you can secure such prizes as Amphipolis (12).

As to the best and speediest method of making the necessary preparations, I hold that we must equip and keep in reserve a fleet of fifty warships with transports for 500 horsemen and a sufficient number of vessels; and *citizens* must serve on board this fleet (16). But, above all, you must keep in hand a small standing army for offensive operations, a force that shall really belong to the state and obey its commanders: we must have none of your mercenary forces that exist only on paper (19). I would have this small force consist of 2000 infantry and 200 cavalry, and I would also have one-fourth of each arm *citizens*, on short service, to relieve one another, and the rest mercenaries, with transports for the force, and ten swift triremes to act as convoy (21-2). At present it is impossible for us to raise an army fit to meet Philip in the field; in the first instance, we must make predatory

II πρόθεσις

(propositio).

Practical proposals §§ 13-30.

incursions only (23). *Citizens* must form part of the force; for it will be remembered, that it was by a *combined* force of mercenaries and citizens that you defeated the Lacedaemonians (in the Corinthian war). Mercenaries, if left to themselves, are apt to go off on other business. You must also have citizens on service to keep a sharp look-out on your commander's conduct (24). We profess to be at war with Philip; but, as for your official commanders, apart from a single general of cavalry, the rest of them stay at home and merely march in festal array through the market-place. Like makers of terracotta toys, it is for the market that you make your officers, and not for war (26). If your cavalry must be commanded by a foreigner, he ought at least to be elected by yourselves (27). As to rations for the force, I reckon the cost at little more than 90 talents for the year (28). For all other supplies the force must rely on the spoils of war.

I shall now submit a written statement of ways and means for the proposed supply (29), which I ask you to sanction, if it meets with your approval (30).

It will assist your deliberations if you remember that Philip is constantly managing to get the start of us. Hence we must carry on the war not with hasty levies from Athens, which will never arrive in time, but with a permanent force on the spot, using as winter-quarters our islands in the northern Aegean. From Athens it is difficult to reach those regions either during the winter, or while the winds are blowing from the north after midsummer,—the seasons usually selected by Philip for his acts of aggression (31-2). The *handling* of the force will rest with the commander appointed by yourselves and responsible to you. The result will be that you will prevent Philip's piratical attacks on our allies, and you will be in security yourselves (33). He will no longer, as of late, carry off citizens of your own

III ΠΙΣΤΕΙΣ
(probatio).

Arguments in
support of pro-
posals §§ 31-50.

from Lemnos and Imbros, or seize your corn-ships off Geraestus or your sacred trireme in the bay of Marathon. At present, you cannot prevent all this (34). In the arrangement of your festivals, nothing is left unascertained or undefined, whereas, in your preparations for war, all is unarranged, unrevised, undefined. We waste in preparation the time required for action; when the crisis comes, our forces are insufficient; and, when they are dispatched, they arrive too late (35-6). Philip's arrogant letter to the Euboeans tells us some unpleasant truths (37-8). Up to this day you have never made any proper use of your resources; and your war with Philip is like a barbarian's manner of boxing. When he strikes you, you feel for the blow; you dare not look him in the face (40). If he is in the Chersonesus, you vote to send relief there; if at Thermopylae, the same: you are always running after his heels, always at his beck and call (41). But all his activity may be almost regarded as providential: for his constant encroachments may *possibly* arouse you at last (42). I wonder that you do not notice, with concern and indignation, that a war begun to chastise Philip has ended in becoming a war for self-defence. He will not pause in his advance, unless some one opposes him (43). But, if we make the attempt, the war will of itself reveal the weak points in his power (44). Whenever a portion of your own force of *citizens* joins in the war, the blessing of Heaven, and the influence of Fortune, favours the struggle; but, where you merely send out a general and an empty decree, nothing that you desire is done. Such an armament makes your enemies exultant and your allies mortally afraid (45). It is impossible for all your wishes to be executed by a general in command of wretched unpaid hirelings (46). You must make your own *citizens* soldiers, to be witnesses of your general's conduct abroad and judges at his audit on your return. As it is, your generals are constantly being put on their trial: they die like malefactors by

sentence of the law, and not on the field of battle (47). As for your gossip about Philip's intentions, you may rest assured that *he* will never allow his real intentions to be known (48-9). Let us remember only that Philip is an enemy who keeps us out of our own, and has long been insulting us; that the future depends on ourselves; and that, unless we are willing to fight him abroad, we shall perhaps be compelled to fight him at home. The future cannot fail to be disastrous, unless you do your duty (50).

As for myself, I have never courted favour, and now I have spoken my whole mind without reserve. Whatever the consequences may be to myself, I offer my advice with the conviction that it will be of advantage to you. I only trust that what is for the advantage of us all may prevail (51).

C. ἐπίλογος
(*peroratio*).
Conclusion.

‘Such views,’ says Grote, ‘were so new, so independent of party-sympathies or antipathies, and so plain-spoken in comments on the past as well as in demands for the future, that they would hardly have been proposed except by a speaker instinct with the ideal of the Periklean foretime, familiar to him from his study of Thucydides’ . . . ‘The first Philippic is alone sufficient to prove, how justly Demosthenes lays claim to the merit of having “seen events in their beginnings” (18 § 246) and given timely warning to his countrymen’ . . . ‘He was not less honest and judicious in his attempts to fulfil the remaining portion of the statesman’s duty—that of working up his countrymen to unanimous and resolute enterprise; to the pitch requisite not merely for speaking and voting, but for acting and suffering, against the public enemy’ (c. 87 viii 61, 67).

The date of the speech is indicated by internal

evidence. Philip's march towards Thermopylae, his expedition against the Chersonesus and his sudden attack on Olynthus are all mentioned in chronological order (4 § 17). These events belong to the summer of 352 B.C. and the following winter. The Athenians sent no aid to the Chersonesus until October 351 (3 § 5). These considerations point to the spring of 351 as the date of the *First Philippic*. The practical proposals made by Demosthenes are appropriate to the *spring* of that year; the fleet, which forms part of those proposals, must clearly be sent to the northern Aegean before July, when the Etesian winds began to blow (note on § 31). It is obviously later than the speech *Against Aristocrates*, which makes no mention of Philip's illness (1 § 13) during his second Thracian expedition in the winter of Ol. 107, 1 (352-1 B.C.), although Thrace is the main subject of a large portion of the speech. Again, the *First Philippic* refers to Philip's sudden attack on Olynthus (4 § 17), whereas in the *Aristocrates* Olynthus had not yet been attacked by Philip, though she had already come to terms with Athens. It was not until the second Thracian expedition that Philip attacked Olynthus, soon after his recovery. Hence Dionysius of Halicarnassus is mistaken in placing the *First Philippic* earlier than the *Aristocrates*, though he is right in assigning both speeches to the same year, Ol. 107, 1 (352-1 B.C.)¹

Unhappily, the proposals made by Demosthenes in the *First Philippic* were not carried into effect.

¹ *Ep. ad Ammaeum* i 4 p. 725, 14 R, Thirlwall v 374-6, ASchaefer ii 70-3², Blass III i 300², Blass-Rehdantz p. 32⁸. On Dionysius' division of the speech into two parts see ASchaefer ii 69², and note on 4 § 30.

Though the speech had been delivered in the spring of 351, it was not until October that any force was sent against Philip, and even then it was only the mercenary commander Charidemus who was sent to the Chersonesus with only ten triremes and five talents in money and no soldiers (3 § 5).

Meanwhile, at Olynthus, there had been a change of feeling. Athens had ceased to inspire alarm, but the vast increase in the power of Philip excited the liveliest apprehension. His encroachment made it clear that he would not allow Chalcidice to be held much longer by free Greek communities. Accordingly, after the great victory of Philip over the Phocians in Thessaly, in the first half of 352, the Olynthians had seceded from their alliance with him, and, before November 352, concluded a peace with Athens which had every prospect of ripening into an alliance (23 § 109). No wonder that a few months afterwards, at the date of the *First Philippic*, Philip had made an inroad into the territory of Olynthus, though without any vigorous prosecution of war. Athens, in the meantime, had proposed to Olynthus a scheme of definite alliance against Philip (1 § 7, 3 §§ 7, 16). But the Olynthians were afraid to be the first to provoke a contest. Mistrust on both sides continued for several months, till at length Philip began serious operations against Olynthus, apparently towards the middle of 349.

The power of Olynthus depended mainly on her position as the head of a confederacy including most of the Greek cities of Chalcidice. Philip began a series of intrigues in Olynthus and her confederate cities. He may even have expected to incorporate the Chalcidic confederacy in his own empire without serious difficulty and without resorting to real war

(1 § 21). If so, he was disappointed, as there is ground for believing that he encountered considerable resistance. Philip at first disclaimed all purposes injurious to Olynthus (9 § 11). The Olynthians, however, sent envoys to Athens proposing alliance and asking for aid to be sent to Chalcidice. The Athenians readily accepted the alliance and promised to send a force to co-operate against Philip.

V *The Olynthiacs of Demosthenes*

It was after the above recognition of Olynthus as an ally of Athens that Demosthenes delivered his three *Olynthiac Orations*, all of them probably during the last seven months of 349.¹ Their 'Ολυνθιακὸς α' ^{349 B.C.} chronological sequence has been much disputed. An abstract of each will now be given in the usual order, and the order itself will be considered afterwards.

The First Olynthiac

I feel sure you would give much to know what is the true policy for the present crisis. You will therefore naturally be willing to listen to counsel, whether it has been preconsidered, or **A. προοίμιον** ^{(exordium).} *Introduction.* has suggested itself on the spur of the moment (1).

The present crisis is an eloquent call to action. My own opinion is that you ought to vote the proposed succours immediately and make the speediest possible preparations for dispatching them from Athens, and that you should also **B. ἀπόδειξις** ^{(tractatio).} *Discussion* §§ 2-27. **I διήγησις.** ^{Survey of the situation} §§ 2-15. send envoys to announce the fact and to watch the course of events (2). There is real danger that Philip's adroitness and unscrupulousness

¹ Grote c. 88 viii 69-75.

may wrest to his own purposes some of our vital interests (3). Yet the very source of his own strength is really favourable to yourselves. For purposes of war, his autocracy is a great advantage; but, for purposes of peace with Olynthus, it is the very opposite (4). The Olynthians plainly see that the peril in which they stand involves the ruin and servitude of their country. They know what has happened to Amphipolis and to Pydna; and, like other free states, they mistrust a despotic power on their borders (5). Now, if ever, you must apply yourselves vigorously to the war by contributing promptly, by *serving personally*, and by leaving nothing undone (6). Had we acted promptly in the case of Amphipolis, Pydna, Poteidaea, Methone, Pagasae, we should have found Philip far easier to attack and less strong than now. At the present moment, another crisis has come (8, 9). If we allow Philip to reduce Olynthus, what is to prevent his marching where he pleases (12)? If it be *his* principle always to do more than before, and *yours* to apply yourselves vigorously to nothing, the war which is now at a distance will soon be at our very doors (14, 15).

At the present crisis I advise you to send succours in two ways:—firstly, by despatching a body of troops to Olynthus for the express purpose of protecting her confederate towns; and, secondly, by employing at the same time another force of troops and triremes to act aggressively against Philip's own territory (17). If you neglect either of these measures, I fear the expedition will fail. As to pecuniary resources, you have more money than other people, but you appropriate it yourselves according to your good pleasure. Now, if you pay that money to soldiers on service it is sufficient for the purpose; otherwise, you need a further fund, or rather you have none at all to begin with. I shall be asked whether I propose to apply the festival-fund to military purposes. I propose

II πρόθεσις
(propositio).
Practical proposals §§ 16-20.

nothing of the kind (19). I merely say that soldiers must be raised, and that those who do the work should receive the pay, whereas *your* practice is to take the public money, without any such condition, for the festivals. The only alternative is an extraordinary war-tax. In any case, you must act vigorously while you still have the chance (20).

Let us now consider Philip's present position. Firstly, he is disappointed at not having carried every-

III ΠΙΣΤΕΙΣ

(*probatio*).
*Proof of the
urgency and the
practicability of
the orator's pro-
posals §§ 21-7.*

thing before him in Chalcidice (21). Secondly, he is ill at ease about the treacherous condition of Thessaly, on which he relies for funds (22). Thirdly, he knows that the Paeonians and Illyrians cannot abide his rule (23). If Olynthus holds out, you will carry on the war *there*, and enjoy your own homes in peace; but if Philip takes that city, who is to check him in his advance hither? (25). Neither the Thessalians nor the Phocians can do so (26); and if there were a war in Attica itself, it would be attended with enormous damage and (what is worse) disgrace (27).

Therefore we must all unite in lending our aid and keeping the war at a distance (in the interest of all classes), so that the rich may, by a small expenditure, enjoy the residue of their resources in security; those of military age gain experience in the territory of Philip and become redoubtable defenders of the integrity of their native land; and our public speakers be able to give a good account of their statesmanship. May heaven grant that the result of your measures may in every way be prosperous (28).

C. ΕΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ

(*peroratio*).
Conclusion.

The Second Olynthiac

It appears to me to be a remarkably providential circumstance that we find a people ready for a war with Philip who are his neighbours and who not only have some considerable power but are implacable in their hostility towards him (1). We must make good use of the allies and the advantages thus provided us (2).

Ολυνθιακὸς β'
349 B.C.

A. προοίμιον
(*exordium*).
Introduction
§§ 1, 2.

I shall not incite you to your duty by dilating on Philip's power. That would be too much of a compliment to him, too much of a disparagement of you (3). The source of his power is not in *himself*, but *here* (in the devotion of his partisans and in your own remissness) (4). I propose to prove Philip's faithlessness by examining his conduct, and also to show that he has now exhausted all the devices by which he rose to greatness (5). His power in itself is founded on perjury and wrong. He has deceived yourselves, he has deceived the Poteidaaeans, he has deceived the Thessalians, in fact, all who have ever had any dealings with him (6, 7). Forts and havens will not enable Philip to hold his own: what he needs is the good-will and the common interest of all his allies. When any one has grown strong, like Philip, by an aggressive and a dishonest policy, the slightest reverse is enough to overthrow his power. A solid and durable power cannot possibly be acquired by means of injustice and perjury and falsehood (9, 10).

B. ἀπόδειξις
(*tractatio*).
I διήγησις
(*narratio*).
Survey of the
situation
§§ 3-10.

My own opinion is that we should at once aid the Olynthians, and that we should also send envoys to Thessaly (11); but it will not be enough for these envoys to make speeches (12); you must act promptly and serve personally, and the weakness of Philip's power will soon be revealed (13).

II πρόθεσις
(*propositio*).
The orator's pro-
posals §§ 11-13.

The power of Macedonia, as has been repeatedly proved by experience, is useful as a make-weight to

III ΠΙΣΤΕΙΣ turn the scale, but is feeble as an independent force (14). Philip's power has been made less secure by the very operations which appear to constitute his greatness. *Proof of the practicability and urgency of these proposals* §§ 14-30. Philip and his subjects have not the same

predilections. *His* ambition is to lead a life of adventure and peril in quest of a glory in which *they* have no share (15, 16). I know on good authority, that his mercenaries and guards are no better than others (17), that he is jealous of any experience in war, that he thrusts aside any who are too virtuous to tolerate his daily vices (18). He is surrounded by a band of brigands, a troop of flatterers, buffoons and jesters (19). His past good fortune lends to all his real weakness a fallacious air of strength; but, on any mischance, his weak points will be exposed to view (20, 21). If any of you think that Philip is formidable because he is so *fortunate*, I admit that fortune *has* a preponderance, is in fact everything, in human affairs. But I should prefer our own good fortune to Philip's, if you would, even to a moderate extent, *do your duty* (22). Yet here you are, sitting still, doing nothing. The idler cannot ask even his friends to work for him, much less the gods. No wonder that Philip, always in the field, always on the move, doing everything for himself and never letting any opportunity slip, prevails over you who merely talk, and ask questions, and pass votes, without acting (23). In bygone days, men of Athens, you lavished your treasure and bore the brunt of battle, to secure the rights of others: yet *now* you are loath to serve, and slow to contribute, even in defence of your own possessions (24). I say then that you must levy an extraordinary war-tax, must serve in person with alacrity, and do your own duty before scrutinising the conduct of others (27). Why do all your commanders avoid this war and seek out

wars of their own? Because *here* the prizes of war are yours, while, in the *other* case, the risks are fewer, and the gains belong to the commanders and soldiers (28). When you see how badly things are going, you impeach the commanders; and, when they urge these strong pleas, you acquit them. The result is that, while some hold one opinion and some another, the public interests suffer. You must get rid of rival factions (29), and be yourselves again. You must restore once more a general liberty of counsel, speech and action (30).

To sum up, you must *all* contribute fairly according to your means; *all* take your turns of service till all have been afield; give *every* speaker a hearing, and adopt the best advice, no matter who gives it. If you act thus, you will not merely praise the speaker at the moment, but yourselves afterwards, when your general prospects have improved (31).

C. ἐπίλογος
(peroratio).
Conclusion.

After the delivery of the first two *Olynthiacs*, a body of mercenary troops was sent by Athens to the aid of the Olynthians and Chalcidians. The wealthier citizens voluntarily contributed to the cost of the outfit of this expedition; but the very point that Demosthenes had insisted on was neglected. None of the Athenians served in person, nor was any money whatsoever assigned for the pay of the mercenaries. Presently a victory was gained over Philip or his generals, and the news was sent to Athens, where it inspired the people with the empty hope that they were now in a fair way of taking revenge on Philip. But Demosthenes himself was not deceived. He clearly discerned that it was only a partial success in no way decisive of the war as a whole. He accordingly felt himself Ὀλυνθιακὸς γ' constrained to address the people once
349 B.C.
more with a view to warning them against losing

sight of the peril in which Olynthus was still standing.

The Third Olynthiac

The language that I hear about 'taking vengeance on Philip' is inconsistent with the facts. The facts compel us to look to our personal safety. There was a time when we might have held our own and punished Philip too ; but now our first care must be the security of our allies (1, 2).

A. **προοίμιον**
(*exordium*).
Introduction
§§ 1, 2.

The present crisis calls for anxious deliberation. I have no doubt as to your duty ; my only doubt is how to address you upon it. Most of your losses have been due to inaction and not to ignorance. If I speak my mind, I must ask you to be patient (3).

B. **ἀποδέξις**
(*tractatio*).
ἰ διήγησις.
Survey of the
situation §§ 3-9.

I must beg you not to make the same mistake as you made three years ago. When Philip was besieging a stronghold in Thrace, you energetically resolved in November (352) to send an expedition against him (4). Presently, there were reports that he was ill, and that he was dead. Accordingly, you only despatched Chari-demus with ten empty ships and five talents. If you had promptly executed your first resolve, Philip would have given you no further trouble (5). But the past cannot be altered now : I mention it only to warn you against making the same mistake in the present crisis. If you do not send aid to Olynthus 'with all your might and main,' you will prove to have manœuvred everything for Philip's benefit (6). You have long been eager to get the Olynthians into war with Philip, and this has actually come to pass (7). You have now no alternative except to aid them vigorously and promptly. You will be covered with shame, if you do not ; and, besides, if Philip conquers Olynthus, there is the fear of his invading Attica. There is, in fact, nothing to hinder him : the

Phocians have exhausted their funds, and the Thebans are your foes (8).

But, I shall be told, 'we have unanimously resolved on succouring Olynthus, and succour it we *shall*; we only want you to tell us *how*.' You will perhaps be surprised, gentlemen, at my answer. I would have you appoint an extraordinary commission to revise your statute-book.

II πρόθεσις
(propositio).
The orator's proposal §§ 10-13.

At its meetings, I would have you enact no new statutes, for you have enough already; but simply repeal those that are at present injurious (10). I mean, speaking plainly, those which concern the festival-fund, and some of those which concern our military service. By the former you hand over to those who stay at home, money which *ought* to go to soldiers on service. By the latter, you indemnify deserters and discourage those who desire to do their duty. When you have repealed these statutes, and made the path of salutary counsel safe, then, and not till then, you may look for some one to propose what you all know to be desirable (11); but, until you do this, you must not expect any one to make the best proposals in your interests, with the certainty of being ruined by you for his pains. Moreover, it is the statesmen who *proposed* these statutes, who should also *repeal* them (12); for it is unfair that their *authors* should enjoy a *popularity* that is *mischievous* to the commonwealth, while the *unpopularity* of a reform *beneficial* to us all falls on the head of the *reformer*. Till you set this right, you cannot expect any one to be either *powerful* enough to infringe these laws with impunity, or *foolish* enough to plunge into manifest ruin (13).

Remember, again, that a decree is worthless, unless you are ready to act (14). When *will* you do your duty, if not *now*? Has not Philip got possession of all our strongholds? Is he not our enemy? is he not a barbarian? is he not — anything you please to call him? (16).

III πίστις
(probatio).
Arguments in support of proposal §§ 14-32.

After allowing him, after almost aiding him to accomplish all this, shall we then inquire who is to blame? I know we shall none of us blame *ourselves*. Oh no! On the field of battle no runaway ever blames *himself* (17). In your deliberations, again, do not blame your advisers, but follow the best advice, however unpalatable it may prove (18). I may possibly be asked, whether it would not be better to propose supplies for our troops *without* touching the festival-fund. Doubtless, if it were *possible*; but you know, gentlemen, you cannot waste your money on useless expenses, and still have it for useful purposes (19). To deceive one's self to the contrary is the easiest thing in the world: the wish is father to the thought. But you must really look the facts in the face; you must arrange to take the field and have supplies for pay. It is at once unwise and ignoble to bear the disgrace of neglecting military operations for want of money; and to be ready at a moment's notice to march against Corinthians and Megarians, and yet allow Philip to enslave Hellenic cities for lack of provision for your troops (20). I have not spoken for the idle purpose of giving offence. I hold that an upright citizen should prefer the interests of the State to the gratification of his audience. These were the principles of Aristides, of Nicias, of my namesake, and of Pericles (21). But, since the appearance of these public speakers who ask the people 'what is your pleasure? what can I propose to oblige you?' the public interests are complimented away for a momentary popularity, and the speakers thrive, while *you* are disgraced (22). Our forefathers, who were not caressed by their counsellors, for five and forty years ruled over a willing Hellas; more than 10,000 talents they brought into the Acropolis; they won many a glorious victory by fighting *in person* on land and sea; and they are the only people in the world who have left behind them a renown beyond the reach of envy (24). At home, their public buildings and all the beauty of

their temples and their dedicated offerings have never been surpassed ; while their private life was so modest, so true to the spirit of our constitution (25), that the house once occupied by Aristeides, or Miltiades, or the most illustrious men of that day, is (as you know) no grander than that next to it. The policy of our ancestors was not the making of money ; it was the personal promotion of the glory of the commonwealth. It was the spirit of loyalty to Greece, of reverence towards heaven, and of brotherhood among themselves, that was the natural source of their high prosperity (26).

But now, even in the utter absence of competitors, when we might easily hold our own securely and also arbitrate on the claims of others (27), we have been kept out of the possession of our rightful territory, and have spent more than 1500 talents to no purpose whatsoever. Allies won in the time of war have been lost to us in the time of peace ; and we have trained up against us a most formidable foe (28). But some one will say, ' Well, sir, our foreign policy may be in a bad way, but surely in the home-department things are now improving ? ' To what then can we point ? Is it to the parapets that we whitewash ; the roads that we repair ; and the fountains, and all the other fooleries ? These are the fruits of the policy of statesmen who have risen from beggary to opulence, from obscurity to distinction, whose private mansions are more splendid than our public buildings, and whose fortunes are exalted in exact proportion to the decline of the interests of the State (29). What is the cause of all this change ? The simple fact, gentlemen, that formerly the *people*, having the courage to act, and to *see service in person*, controlled our statesmen and was master of all our emoluments ; and any of the citizens in general was content to receive from the *people* his own share of honour or office or advantage (30) ; whereas now, it is the *statesmen* that dispose of our emoluments ; it is through their agency that everything is done ; while

you, the *people*, gentlemen, reft of all your strength, stripped of your treasure and your allies, have become mere underlings and appendages, and are satisfied if your statesmen present you with a dole from the festival-fund, and (the manliest part of all !) you are even grateful for receiving from them what is your own all the while. They coop you up in the city, and entice you to your pleasures, and make you tame and submissive to their hands (31). But it is impossible (as I hold) to have a high and noble spirit, while engaged in petty and mean pursuits : men's pursuits must necessarily have an influence on their character. I should not be surprised if, for merely mentioning these matters, I were to suffer more than those who are themselves responsible for this state of things. It is not every subject on which you permit your boasted liberty of speech : I even wonder that you have permitted it to-day (32).

But if, gentlemen, you would only renounce these practices, and be ready to take the field, and would employ your domestic superfluities as a means for gaining advantage abroad, you might, you might *perhaps*, secure some solid and important advantage. You might also get rid of these perquisites which are like a sick man's diet which gives no strength to the patient, but merely keeps him alive (33). Some one will say : 'are you proposing a system of pay for service ?' Yes, I would immediately have the same arrangement for all, that each citizen may receive his share of the public funds, in return for doing the duty which the State demands. Is peace possible ? He will be all the better for staying at home, and being under no temptation to act dishonestly through indigence. Is there any crisis like the present ? It will be better for him to be a soldier, as he ought, in his country's cause, while he is supported by those very same allowances. Is any one beyond the military age ? What he now receives irregularly without doing any service I would have him

C. ἐπίλογος
(peroratio).
Conclusion
§§ 33-36.

receive by an equitable organisation in return for superintending and transacting public business (34). In short, without any material diminution or addition, simply by removing a slight irregularity, I now propose to bring things into order by establishing a uniform rule, making the receipt of money depend on serving in war, on sitting on juries, in fact, on doing individually what is appropriate to each several citizen's time of life and to the exigencies of the hour. I have never advised giving to idlers the wages of the industrious. I have never advised your folding your hands and sitting at leisure, passive and pauperised, and inquiring (as you do now) for news of the victory of somebody's mercenaries (35). Not that I blame any commander who does you good service: I only call upon yourselves to perform on your own account those duties for which you honour others, and not to desert that post of duty which your ancestors won by many a glorious battle, and bequeathed to you.

I have said nearly all that I deem for the best: heaven grant that you may adopt the course that is best for the State and for all of yourselves (36).

In the *Third Olynthiac*, justly regarded by Grote¹ as one of the most splendid harangues ever delivered, Demosthenes showed signal courage in combating the prevailing sentiment. The partial advantage which had been gained was much over-rated, and the ardour of Athens in aiding Olynthus was already beginning to cool. 'Courage, wisdom and dexterity' are shown in the masterly manner in which he discharged an unpopular duty.

VI *The order of the Olynthiacs*

A fragment of Philochorus (fl. 306–260 B.C.), pre-

¹ c. 88 viii 85 f.

served by Dionysius in his *First letter to Ammaeus*,¹ The order of the assigns the Olynthian war to the archon-
Olynthiacs. ship of Callimachus (Ol. 107, 4 = 349–8 B.C.); and describes three successive expeditions as sent by Athens in response to three successive appeals on the part of Olynthus. The *first* expedition consisted of a mercenary force of 2000 peltasts and 30 triremes (with a further squadron of eight triremes) under the command of *Chares*; the *second*, a mercenary force of 4000 peltasts, 150 horse, and 18 triremes, under *Charidemus*; and the *third*, a citizen-force of 2000 hoplites, 300 horse and 17 triremes, under *Chares*.

Dionysius² accordingly places all the three *Olynthiacs* in the same year (349–8). But he further regards the three speeches as severally occasioned by the three successive appeals of Olynthus, and as leading in turn to the three expeditions above-mentioned.³ The order in which he places the speeches, as distinguished by their opening words, is as follows: (1) ἐπὶ πολλῶν (*Or.* 2); (2) οὐχὶ ταῦτα (*Or.* 3); (3) ἀντὶ πολλῶν (*Or.* 1). His reason for placing *Or.* 2 first in order of time was two-fold, (1) the exultant and hopeful tone of the *prooemium*, (2) certain chronological considerations.⁴ The latter can only refer to the date of Philip's siege of Ἡραῖον τεῖχος (Nov. 352), the date of *Or.* 3 being known to be rather less than three years later (3 § 4), or about Oct. 349. As *Or.* 3 thus fell too early in the Attic year to be likely to correspond to the *last* of

¹ c. 9 p. 734 R, ed. Herwerden 1861.

² *ad Amm.* i c. 4 p. 726 R.

³ Schol. quoted by ASchaefer ii 160² n. 4.

⁴ Schol. to Dem. p. 71, 1 Dind. (ASchaefer l.c. n. 32, Blass III i 318²).

the three appeals of Olynthus, Dionysius is compelled to adopt such an order as will leave time for one previous appeal and one previous expedition. Accordingly he connects *Or.* 2 with the first appeal, *Or.* 3 with the second, and *Or.* 1 with the third. Thus the order of the *Olynthiacs* according to Dionysius is: *Or.* 2, *Or.* 3, *Or.* 1.

This order is accepted by Thirlwall who observes (v 380):—‘If the three speeches were delivered on the occasions described by Philochorus, since the need and the danger were growing more and more pressing from the beginning to the end of the period, we actually expect to find the orator’s tone corresponding to the altered state of affairs. This is the view by which I have been determined in favour of the order of Dionysius.’ The description of the present juncture in 3 § 3 (he adds) is less ‘critical’ and less ‘alarming’ than in 1 § 2. The danger threatening Attica is noticed in 3 § 8 as fraught with ‘disgrace and no small fear,’ but in 1 § 25 we are told that the choice now lies between a war with Philip in the north or in Attica itself, and that the object of the proposed succours is to ‘keep the war at a distance’ (1 § 28). ‘If Philip is successful, what is there to prevent him marching hither?’ (1 § 26, reading βασιλεὺς in l. 235).¹

The order preferred by Grote (Appendix to c. 88) is *Or.* 2, *Or.* 1, *Or.* 3. He observes that in *Or.* 2 hardly anything is said of Olynthus; ‘it is in fact a *Philippic* rather than an *Olynthiac*.’ Its main drift is to encourage and

¹ The order 2, 3, 1 is also accepted by Rauchenstein (1829), Flathe (*Geschichte Makedoniens* 1832), Holzinger (*zur Erkl. des Dem.* Prag 1856), and Vömel (*Z. f. Alt.-W.* 1857).

stimulate Athens in the *general* war against Philip, thankfully welcoming the new ally, Olynthus, but accepting her only as a valuable auxiliary. *Or.* 1 is much more energetic in its tone respecting Olynthus. The main topic is now:—‘Protect the Olynthians, save their confederate cities; think what will happen if they are ruined; there is nothing to hinder Philip in that case from marching into Attica.’ The views of Demosthenes have changed from the offensive to the defensive. The way in which the festival-fund is dealt with must also be taken into account. In *Or.* 2 nothing is said about it; in *Or.* 1 it is distinctly adverted to; in *Or.* 3 the question is forcibly and repeatedly pressed. This consideration is at any rate conclusive in favour of placing *Or.* 3 *last*. *Or.* 3 was clearly delivered after Athens had sent *some* succours to Olynthus, whereas *Or.* 1 and *Or.* 2 had been spoken before anything at all had yet been done. The successes of mercenaries reported at Athens (3 § 35) must have been successes of mercenaries commissioned by her; and the triumphant hopes noticed by Demosthenes as actually prevalent are more naturally explained by supposing such news to have arrived.¹

The order of the MSS (*Or.* 1, *Or.* 2, *Or.* 3) *Or.* 1, *Or.* 2, *Or.* 3 is, however, preferred by the great majority of critics. It was accepted, among the ancients, by Caecilius of Calacte, a contemporary of Dionysius;² among the

¹ The order 2, 1, 3 is also adopted by Stüve (Osnabrück 1830 and 1833), Whiston (ed. 1859), Purgaj (Marburg. in St. 1874), HMWilkins (ed. 1860), and Unger *Sitzungber. d. Münchener Akad.* 1880 pp. 273 ff).

² Dem. Schol. p. 71³ Dind.

moderns, by ASchaefer, Weil and Blass.¹ Whatever uncertainty there may be as to the relative positions of *Or.* 1 and *Or.* 2, *Or.* 3 is clearly the last. All the three speeches were delivered within a short time of one another, and apparently all of them as the result of the *first* embassy of the Olynthians. Their alliance has already been accepted: the deliberations turn entirely on the consequent sending of succours.

VII *The close of the Olynthian war*

Great efforts were made by Athens for the support of Olynthus. Athens was further embarrassed by the revolt of Euboea, and found herself compelled to send forces to Euboea as well as to Olynthus.² The cost of these two expeditions was considerable; and for some time there was not enough money in the treasury to pay the ordinary expenses of the

¹ The order 1, 2, 3 is also retained by AGBecker (*Uebers.* 1824), Rappel (Landshut 1825), Westermann (*Q. Dem.* pars 1, 1830), Jacobs (*Uebers.* ed. 1832 pp. 159 f), Brückner (Schweidnitz 1833), Petrenz (Gumbinnen 1833-4), Böhnecke (*Forschungen* 1843 p. 151), Schöning (Göttingen 1853, who holds that the speeches were delivered on three successive days), Wolf (Czerowitz 1862), vKlebensberg (Triest 1865), EMüller (ed. 7 of Westermann), WHartel (*Dem. Anträge* and *Dem. Studien* 1877), and ABaran (*Wiener Studien* vii 190 ff, who places 1 and 2 before the first embassy from Olynthus, and assigns 3 to the deliberations arising out of the second embassy).

² The Euboic war was assigned to 350 B.C. by ASchaefer, Rehdantz and EMüller; and the Euboic and Olynthian wars are both placed in 350 by Hartel. Weil, followed by Blass, places the Euboic expedition in Feb. 348. Unger assumes two Olynthian wars, (1) in 352-1 connected with *Ol.* 2 and *Ol.* 1, and (2) in 349 connected with *Ol.* 3. Unger is refuted by Baran who places the outbreak of the Euboic war early in 349, and *before* the Olynthian war. Cp. Rehdantz-Blass p. 44³, and Grote c. 88 viii 87, 92.

law-courts (39 § 17). To meet these difficulties Apollodorus, who was a member of the Council, proposed in that body that the Assembly should vote whether the surplus of revenue over and above the ordinary peace-establishment of the city should be paid to the festival-fund, or should be devoted to the pay, outfit and transport of soldiers for the actual war. The motion was approved by the Council, and the Assembly passed a unanimous decree. Nevertheless Apollodorus was impeached for making this proposal, was found guilty, and was condemned to pay a fine of one talent (59 §§ 3-8).

The operations of Philip were in no way remitted. During the years 349 and 348 he pressed the Chalcidians more and more closely. A mercenary force was sent to their aid, under Chares; and a similar force under Charidemus. But all that we learn of Chares and Charidemus relates to acts of extortion and insolence rather than of military success. Afterwards, in response to a final and more urgent appeal from Olynthus, a citizen-force was sent under the command of Chares. The efforts made by Athens in the latter part of the Olynthian war must have been considerable. We are told by Demosthenes (19 § 266) that Athens had sent to the aid of Olynthus 4000 citizens, 10,000 mercenaries, and 50 triremes.

After capturing and devastating the 32 cities of the Chalcidic confederation, Philip marched against Olynthus itself. On arriving within 40 furlongs of the city he sent a summons intimating that either the inhabitants must evacuate the city or he must leave Macedonia (9 § 11). They resolved on defending themselves to the last. Many of the Athenian citizens of the latest reinforcement were

still within their walls (Aeschin. 2 § 15); but Athens sent no further aid. At length the partisans of Philip brought about the banishment of their principal opponent, Apollonides, and treasonably surrendered the city. In an engagement near the walls one of these partisans betrayed his force of 500 horsemen into the hands of the invaders (9 § 56; 19 § 267). In the latter part of 348, all the Olynthians, men, women and children, were sold into slavery. The city was destroyed, together with the 32 Chalcidic towns including Apollonia and Stageira: five years afterwards their very sites were scarcely discernible (9 § 26). Grants of productive and valuable farms are said to have been afterwards made by Philip to Athenian partisans, such as Aeschines and Philocrates (19 § 145); but the traitors who had sold Olynthus were dismissed with dishonour and contempt. At Dium, in Pieria, which had been the scene of splendid festivals since the days of Archelaus, Philip commemorated his conquests by a festival in honour of the Olympian Zeus, with prizes for athletic or poetic distinction. The legendary home of the Muses, and the earliest of all the conquests of Macedonia, thus witnessed the celebration of the fall of Olynthus and the failure of the cause which had inspired the eloquence of Demosthenes.

VIII *On the evidence for the Text*

For the text of Demosthenes our primary authorities are the MSS. Of these there are as many as 170 in existence; but, for the Speeches included in this volume, the most important are those denoted by the symbols **S**, **A**, **Y**, **O**, **F** and **B**.

S (or **Σ**) holds the first place among these. It is a MS of the tenth century, now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris (no. 2934 of the Greek mss). It once belonged to a monastery of 'Sosandrian' monks, so named from a Galatian martyr, Sosander; it is accordingly known by the initial letter of its former owners. The first page of the *Leptines* is reproduced in my edition of that Speech (1890); and a facsimile of the whole MS has since been published (Paris, Leroux, 1893). The general excellence of this MS is admitted on all hands. Its readings are often accepted in Bekker's editions (1823 etc.), and still more frequently in that of Baiter and Sauppe (1841). Its value is estimated with greater discrimination by Cobet (*Novae Lectiones* p. 515) and Shilleto (preface to *de Falsa Legatione*).

A, or **Aug 1**, the *codex Augustanus primus*, formerly at Augsburg (*Augusta Vindelicorum*), now in the *Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek* at Munich (no. 485), belongs to century XI, and ranks next to **S** in importance. (The Laurentian MS **L**, end of century XIII, comes next to **S** for *Or.* 6–11 and *Or.* 18–24, but does not include *Or.* 1–5.) In *Or.* 1–4 **A** is much mutilated, containing only 1 §§ 8–14, 2 §§ 16–24, 3 § 24–4 § 3 (= p. 11 l. 12–p. 13 l. 16, p. 22 l. 22–p. 25 l. 6, p. 35 l. 12–p. 41 l. 1 Reiske). It is only from 4 § 28 onwards that it is complete. The missing portions are supplied by ten leaves of far later date containing 1 § 11–4 § 28 (p. 12 l. 15–p. 48 l. 1 Reiske), known as *Supplementum Augustani primi* or **A** suppl.

(**Aug 2** and **3** in the same library belong to century xv.)

Y, or **T**, *codex Parisinus* 2935, probably belongs to century XI.

O, or **Ω**, *codex Bruxellensis*, formerly at Antwerp, carried off to Paris, restored in 1815, and now in the *Bibliotheca Burgundica* at Brussels. Its date is early in century XIV.

F, *codex Venetus*, no. 416 in the *Biblioteca Marciana*, Venice; assigned to century XI. It is the best MS of Dindorf's 'second class,' but is closely followed by **B**.

B, *codex Bavaricus*, no. 85 in the above-mentioned library at Munich; century XIII.

(**Pal** 1 and 2, formerly in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg, now in the Vatican, are inferior MSS of century XV.)

The early *papyri* found during the last few years in Egypt include two small scraps of the *Second Olynthiac*, from §§ 10, 15 (see *Classical Review* vi 430). The readings are the same as those of our ordinary MSS.

The lexicon to the Attic Orators compiled by Harpocration in the second century A.D. contains many references to the earliest commentator on Demosthenes, the industrious Alexandrine grammarian Didymus, who belongs to the age of Augustus. It also mentions, in only five passages, the readings of an important recension of MSS known as 'Αττικιανά, apparently transcribed by one Atticus, who is identified with the copyist of that name in Lucian *Adversus Indoctum* §§ 2, 24. Of the readings so quoted from *Demosthenes*, one (ἐκπολεμῆσαι for ἐκπολεμῶσαι in 1 § 7 and 3 § 7) is found in **S** alone, another in all our MSS (*Ναυκρατιτικά* 24 § 11), and one of two alternatives, s.v. ἀνελοῦσα 22 § 11, in none. The MSS **B** and **F** have a note at the end of *Or.* 11 stating that that speech had been revised ἀπὸ δύο 'Αττικιανῶν, but there is nothing to connect the 'Αττικιανά with any of our existing MSS, the earliest of which was transcribed at least eight centuries later than the time of Lucian.¹

Next in importance to the evidence of our MSS is

¹ Blass *Praefatio* to Teubner text i xiv, xv.

the evidence of citations in rhetoricians, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus (fl. 30 B.C.), Aristides and Hermogenes (both belonging to the second century), and the still later *Rhetores Graeci*. Reminiscences and imitations of Demosthenes have been also traced in writers such as Dio Cassius (about 155–229 A.D.), Lucian (fl. 160 A.D.), Libanius (fl. 350 A.D.), Julian (331–363 A.D.), Chrysostom (347–407 A.D.), Isidore of Pelusium (about 370–450 A.D.), and Choricus of Gaza (fl. 520 A.D.) The evidence derived from citations and imitations appears to be far too highly estimated in the Teubner text as edited by Blass. The MSS of the above authors are certainly no better than those of Demosthenes; the same passage of Demosthenes is sometimes cited differently by different authors, and even by the same author. Thus what, at first sight, appears to be a direct citation, sometimes proves on examination to be little better than a general reminiscence. As such it is of little value as evidence on the text, though it possesses a certain degree of literary interest as testimony to the abiding influence of the study of Demosthenes.

In settling the text certain laws of *composition* have also to be considered. It is observed by Dionysius that while Demosthenes has more sense of euphony than Thucydides, he has not the uniform smoothness of Isocrates, but that on rhythm he nevertheless bestows the utmost pains (*de Dem.* 43–52). It is also noticed by Cicero that, in comparison with Isocrates, Demosthenes to a great extent regards the concurrence of vowels as a fault, and avoids it accordingly (*Orator* § 151). In the more highly finished speeches of Demosthenes, when the choice lies between a reading involving a *hiatus* and a

reading not involving it, other considerations being about equally balanced, the latter is more likely to represent the original text. The extent to which *hiatus* may be removed, either by transposition or by conjectural emendation, is a point on which editors differ. Blass goes further than others in this respect.¹

Again, by a law of composition discovered by Blass, Demosthenes, so far as possible, avoids the consecutive use of three or more *short syllables*, except where the three syllables are included in the same word, or in combinations virtually equivalent to a single word. It is to the observance of this rule that we may ascribe the steady and stately march of the prose of Demosthenes as compared with that of Plato. The question arises how far we are justified in removing exceptions to this rule by resorting to conjectural emendation; and here, again, the discoverer of the rule is apt to go further than other scholars.² The same holds good of various *minutiae* of rhythmical correspondence between consecutive clauses or sentences.³ Different editors may well assign different degrees of weight to such considerations; and even the same editor may hold different opinions at different times. Thus, on all the points above mentioned, on rhythmical correspondences, on the avoidance of *hiatus* and consecutive short syllables, and on the exact degree of importance to be assigned to reminiscences in later writers, we have to distinguish between the first thoughts of Blass, as represented in the first volume of the Teubner text (Bl¹), the *δεύτεραι φροντίδες* as revealed in the *Addenda* to the remaining volumes (Bl²), and the

¹ *Att. Ber.* III i 100-5².

² *ib.* 105-12².

³ *ib.* 127 f².

τρίται φροντίδες in his editions of the *Philippic Orations* and the speech *On the Crown* (Bl³).¹ These repeated confessions of changes of opinion reflect the highest credit on the candour of the eminent scholar in question. They are apt, however, to create misgivings as to the wisdom of setting aside the evidence of the MSS, and putting in its place what after all can only be regarded as uncertain inferences from vague reminiscences, or as unduly strict applications of theoretical rules of composition which may perhaps hold good as a whole, but which Demosthenes, as a practical orator, may possibly have followed without absolutely rigid uniformity. The text of the present volume, though founded mainly on that of the Teubner edition, not unfrequently departs from it, not only in cases where Blass himself has changed his mind, but also in others, where the evidence of the MSS seems too strong to be overruled.

IX *Select List of Editions, Dissertations, and
Books of Reference*

TEXT

- (1) JGBaiter and HSAuppe *Oratores Attici*, Zürich 1850.
 (2) IBekker *Demosthenis Orationes*, stereotyped ed., Leipzig 1854. (3) JTVoemel *Dem. Contiones*, Halle 1857. (4) WDindorf *Dem. Orationes* [Leipzig 1825, Oxford 1846], ed. *tertia correctior* (Teubner), Leipzig 1855; ed. *quarta correctior*, edidit FBlass, 1885-9. (5) Thalheim *neun Philippische Reden* (Teubner), Leipzig 1897.

¹ On the general questions of textual criticism suggested by the latter edition, I may refer to Professor Butcher's admirable article in the *Classical Review* v 309-15.

COMMENTARIES

GENERAL

(1) **GHSchaefer** *Apparatus criticus ad Dem.*, London (vol. i) 1824. (2) **WDindorf** (vol. v) *Annotationes Interpretum ad Or. 1-19*, Oxford 1849; (vol. viii) *Scholia Graeca*, 1851.

SPECIAL

(1) **VLucchesini** *Or. 1-6* etc., *cum notis . . historicis*, Rome 1712. (2) **RMounteney** *Or. 1-4*, Cambridge 1731; ed. 13, 1820. (3) **CARüdiger** *Or. 1-5*, Leipzig 1818; ed. 2, 1829. (4) **JHBremi** *Or. 1-4* etc., Gotha 1829. (5) **JTVoemel** *Or. 1-5*, Frankfurt 1829. (6) **FFranke** *Or. 1-6*, Leipzig 1842; ed. 3, 1871. (7) **HSauppe** *Or. 1-4*, Gotha 1845. (8) **AWestermann** *Or. 1-6*, 8, 9, Berlin 1851; ed. 9 (**Rosenberg**), 1891. (9) **RWhiston** *Or. 1-18*, London 1859. (10) **HMWilkins** *Olynthiacs*, *Or. 1-3*, London 1860 (out of print). (11) **CRehdantz** *Or. 1-4*, Leipzig 1860; ed. 8 (**FBlass**), 1893. (12) **GHHeslop** *Olynthiacs and Philippics*, *Or. 1-4, 6, 9, [10]*, London 1868. (13) **CSchmelzer** on *Or. 1-3* in *Studien zur Redekunst* i, Guben 1869. (14) **HWeil** *les Harangues de Démosthène*, *Or. 1-[17]*, Paris 1873; ed. 2, 1881; also *Sept Philippiques*, school ed. 1896. (15) **TGwatkin** *First Philippic*, *Or. 4*, edited after **Rehdantz** (Macmillan), London 1883. (16) **JSörgel** *Or. 1-4* (for beginners), Gotha 1883; ed. 4 (**ADeuerling**), 1893. (17) **EAbbott** and **PEMatheson** *Or. 1-4*, Oxford 1887. (18) **ABaran** *Schüler-Commentar zu Dem. acht Staatsreden*, *Or. 1-6, 8, 9* (for beginners), Vienna, ed. 2, 1894. (19) **CBaron** *Sept Philippiques*, school ed., Paris 1894. (20) **FBTarbell** *Philippics*, *Or. 4, 6, 9*, Boston, U.S.A. [1880], 1896. (The editions by **Braüning**, Hanover 1891, **Ragan**, Paris 1893, and **Windel**, Bielefeld 1896, are quite elementary.)

LEXICOGRAPHY, TEXTUAL CRITICISM etc.

(1) **Harpocraton**, ed. Dindorf, Oxford 1853. (2) **Rhetores Graeci**, ed. Walz, 1832-6. (3) **CRehdantz** *Indices*, ed. 4 (**FBlass**), Leipzig 1886. (4) **SPreuss** *Index Demosthenicus*, Leipzig 1895.

(1) **PPDobree** *Adversaria* (ed. Scholefield), Cambridge 1833; (ed. Wagner) Leipzig 1875. (2) **CGCobet** *Miscellanea Critica*, Leyden 1876. (3) **KHalm** *Bemerkungen zu Dem. in Commentationes philol. in honorem Mommseni* pp. 694-704, Berlin 1877. (4) **Karlowa** *Sprachgebrauch des Dem.*, Pless 1883.

- (5) **ERosenberg** *Curae Demosthenicae*, Hirschberg 1887. (6) **JMay** *Zur Kritik der Reden des Dem.*, on Or. 4, Leipzig 1894-5.

DEMOSTHENIC LITERATURE

GENERAL

- (1) **KGBöhnecke** *Forschungen etc.*, Berlin 1843-64. (2) **Arnold Schaefer** *Dem. und seine Zeit*, 3 vols., ed. 2, Leipzig 1885. (3) **FBlass** *die Attische Beredsamkeit*, especially vol. III i, ed. 2, Leipzig 1893. (4) **SHButcher** *Demosthenes* (Macmillan), London 1881.

SPECIAL

On Or. 1-4 etc.

- (1) **LSpengel** *die δημηγορίαι des Dem.* I, II, München 1860. (2) **WHartel** *Demosthenische* (a) *Studien I* (on Or. 1-4), Wien 1877; (b) *Anträge*, ib. 1877. (3) **GFUnger** *Zeitfolge der vier ersten Dem. Reden* (Or. 2 early in summer of 352, Or. 1 in 351, Or. 4 early in October 351, Or. 3 early in August 349), München 1880. (4) **ABaran** *Zur Chronologie des Euböischen Krieges u. der Ol. Reden des Dem.* (rev. in *Bursian Jahresb.* 1889, i 211), *Wiener Studien* vii 190-231, 1885. (5) **PJDitges** *Philippische Reden des Dem.*, Köln 1887.

On the First Philippic (Or. 4)

- (1) **EKurz** *Zeit-Bestimmung der ersten Rede gegen Philippos* (latter half of 351), München 1857. (2) **ASchaefer** in *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 79 (1859), 667 f (spring of 351). (3) **Fuchs** *Zeit-Bestimmung u.s.w.* (early in 351) refutes the dates of Böhnecke (349-8) and Hädicke etc. (350-49 or 351-50), Tübingen 1875. (4) **HSchefczik** *Ueber die Abfassungszeit u.s.w.* (latter half of 347), Troppau 1896. (5) **JHBremi**¹ *des Dem. erste Phil. Rede ist nur ein Ganzes*, Zürich 1819. (6) **JHeld**² *Proleg. et Annotationes*, Breslau 1831. (7) **MSeebeck**² *Zeitschrift f. d. AWS.*, nos. 91-7, 1838. (8) **Schöning** *Ueber die rednerische Kunst in der ersten Phil.*, Göttingen 1849. (9) **HHaedicke**¹ *de prima Dem. Phil.* (date winter 351-50), Berlin 1858. (10) **WDoehle**¹ *de Dem. Phil. orationum prima* (date 351), Halle 1866. (11) **EEichler**² *Dem. erste Phil. noch eine Doppelrede* (rev. in *Bursian's Jahresb.* 1889, p. 208), Wien 1883. (12) **ABaran**¹ 'die einheitliche Composition der ersten Phil.,' *Wiener Studien* vi 173-205, 1884 (rev. in *Bursian l.c.*) (13) **HMuther**¹ *die Composition der ersten Phil. Rede*, Coburg 1887. (14)

KSchmied¹ *die erste Phil. Rede, nach Veranlassung, Gedankengang u. Zweck untersucht*, Horn 1894. (15) **ESchwarz**¹ *erste Phil.*, Marburg 1894. (16) **HSchefczik**¹ *die erste Phil. ist zweifellos ein Ganzes*, Troppau 1895.

¹ For the unity of the Speech ; ² against.

On the order of the Olynthiacs

Or. 2, 3, 1. (1) **RRauchenstein**, Leipzig 1821, and (enlarged) in Bremi's ed., 1829. (2) **AZiemann**, Quedlinburg 1832. (3) **CThirlwall** *Excursus* v 512, 1838. (4) **CHolzinger**, Prag 1856.

Or. 2, 1, 3. (5) **CGAstueve**, Osnabrück 1830-3. (6) **GGrote**, *Excursus* in c. 88, 1853. (7) **JPurgaj** (rev. in Bursian's *Jahresb.* 1877, p. 484), Marburg in St. 1874. (8) **GFÜnger** *Zeitfolge u.s.w.*, München 1880.

Or. 1, 2, 3. (9) **JBRappel**, Landshut 1825. (10) **AWestermann** *Quaest. Dem.* pars 1, Leipzig 1830. (11) **FJacobs** *Uebersetzung* pp. 159 f, Leipzig 1805 ; ed. 2, 1833. (12) **CAFBrückner**, Schweidnitz 1833. (13) **FWTPetrenz**, Gumbinnen 1833-4. (14) **Schöning** (*Or. 1-3* delivered on three successive days), Göttingen 1853. (15) **TWolf** *Dionysios oder Libanios?* Czernewitz 1862. (16) **JvKlebensberg**, Triest 1865. (17) **FTerlikowski** *O morwach olintyjskich* (rev. in Bursian's *Jahresb.* 1889, p. 204), Lemberg 1882. (18) **ABaran** in *Wiener Studien* vii (1885), pp. 225-7.

Analysis of Or. 1-4

(1) **PSchmieder** *Dispositionen zu den drei Ol. Reden*, Colberg 1870. (2) **CFischer** *Inhaltstabelle Or. 1-3* (Bursian's *Jahresb.* 1889, p. 205). (3) **GLEuchtenberger** *Dispositive Inhaltsübersicht der drei Ol. Reden*, Berlin 1882 ; ed. 2, 1884. (4) **Muensch** *Gliederung . . dreier Staatsreden*, Jauer 1883. (5) **HMuth** *die Composition der ersten Phil. Rede*, Coburg 1887. (6) **EHaerter** *Disposition zu den drei Reden gegen Philippos, so wie zu der Rede περί τῆς εἰρήνης*, Stendal 1887. (7) **EBottek** *Dispositive Inhaltsübersicht zu Dem. acht Staatsreden*, Wien 1894. (8) **EOtt** *zur Gliederung der Ol. Reden*, Böhm.-Leipa 1894-5. (9) **HReich** *Analysis in margin of Text of Augew. politische Reden (Or. 1-6, 8, 9)* (Teubner) Leipzig 1896.

Periodical Literature etc.

(1) **CR ehdantz** *Dem. Litteratur*, *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 75 (1857) 553-69, 813-27 ; 77 (1858) 456-71, 559-78. (2) **WNitsche**

Jahresbericht des phil. Vereins, Berlin 1873, p. 187. (3) FBlass Bursian's *Jahresbericht* 1875, pp. 281 f; 1877, i pp. 482 f; 1879, i pp. 270 f; 1882, i pp. 190 f; 1884, i pp. 238 f. (4) GHuettner *ib.* 1889, i pp. 187 f, especially 191 f, 193, 204-12.

Phil. 1 § 2, EHoffmann *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 113 (1876) 475 f. §§ 7, 8, ABoeckh *Kleine Schriften* iv 68-70. § 33, CHFunkhaenel *Zeitschr. f. d. A WS.* 1856, 210-5. §§ 36-37, HWeil *Revue de Philologie* i (1877) 267 f. §§ 38, 42, 48, CHFunkhaenel *Zeitschr. f. d. Gymn.* 8 (1854) 338-40.

Ol. 1 § 1, JRichter *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* (1888) 512. § 7, HFrohberger *Philologus* 29 (1870) 633-5. § 8, FFranke *παρήσαν αν παρήσαν? Philol.* 13 (1858) 613 f. § 20, CMeiser *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 109 (1874) 706. § 27, MZink *Eos* 1 (1864) 179 proposes *ei δὲ δὴ πολέμιός τις ἦξει.*

Ol. 2 §§ 15, 22, CARüdiger *Philologus* 18 (1862) 722 f.

Ol. 3 §§ 7, 12, EKurz *Blätter f. d. Bayr. Gymn.* 11 (1875) 436-40. § 12, Max Miller *Blätter f. d. Bayr. Gymn.* 11 (1875) 174 f (Bursian's *Jahresb.* 1877, i 484), proposes *οὐ τούτου μόνου οἱ οὐ μόνου.* § 31, FFranke *προσ-οφλισκάνειν Philol.* 13 (1858) 613 f. § 33, CHFunkhaenel *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 75 (1857) 445-8; and COstermann *Philol.* 13 (1858) 755 f. § 34, CFSchnitzer *Eos* 2 (1865) 619 f supports Lobeck's view. § 35, HFrohberger *Philologus* 29 (1870) 633-5. §§ 34, 35, HGölkel *Blätter f. d. Bayr. Gymn.* 20 (1884) 194-201 (rev. in Bursian's *Jahresb.* 1889, i 206).

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

Histories of Greece. (1) CThirlwall, 8 vols. 1835-44. (2) GGrote [1846-56], ed. in 8 vols. 1862. (3) ECurtius [1857], ET. in 5 vols. (Bentley) 1868-73. (4) AHolm, 4 vols. 1886-94; ET. vols. 1-3 (Macmillan) 1895-7.

Antiquities. (1) ABoeckh *die Staatshaushaltung der Athener* ed. 3, Fränkel 1886; *Public Economy of Athens*, 1st German ed. translated by Sir George Cornewall Lewis, 1828, 1842; 2nd German ed. translated by Lamb, Boston U.S.A. 1857. (2) KFHermann *Lehrbuch* vol. i ed. Thumser 1892. (3) GFSchömann *Antiquities of Greece* vol. i ET. 1880. (4) WSmith *Dictionary of Antiquities*, ed. Wayte and Marindin (Murray) 1890-1. (5) GBusolt *Staats- u. Rechtsalt.* ed. 2, 1893. (6) GGilbert *Const. Antiquities* vol. i ET. (Sonnenschein) 1895. (7) PGardner and FBJeavons *Manual* (Griffin) 1895. (8) AHJGreenidge *Gk. Const. History* (Macmillan) 1896.

X *List of the principal abbreviations used in the Notes*

S = *codex Parisinus* (cent. x).

S¹ = first hand of **S**.

A = *Augustanus primus* (cent. xi).

A suppl = Supplement to **A** (late).

Y = another *codex Parisinus* (cent. xi).

O = *codex Bruxellensis* (cent. xiv).

F = *codex Marcianus* (cent. xi).

B = *codex Bavaricus* (cent. xiii).

om = omitted by or in.

vulgo = the ordinary text, or the text of other mss than those specified.

[] = words in the mss which should probably be omitted.

< > = words *not* in the mss which should probably be added.

B¹ = Blass in Teubner text vol. i, 1885.

B² = Blass in Addenda to vols. ii, iii, 1888-9.

B³ = Blass in 8th edition of Rehdantz, 1893.

Dind = Dindorf.

West = Westermann.

K = CRKennedy's *Translation of Demosthenes*.

L & S = Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon*.

CIA. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*.

AJP. = *American Journal of Philology*.

MT. = Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* ed. 1889.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α

Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προὔτι-
θετ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λέγειν, ἐπισχὼν ἂν ἕως
οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο,
εἰ μὲν ἤρεσκέ τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων,
5 ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἤγον, εἰ δὲ μή, τότε ἂν καὐτὸς ἐπει-
ρώμην ἃ γιγνώσκω λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν
πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν οὗτοι πρότερον, συμβαίνει
καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς
εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ
10 παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέονθ' οὗτοι συνεβού-
λευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλευέσθαι.

§ 1 l. 2 [λέγειν] Bl. The passage is quoted with λέγειν by Hermogenes *Rhetores Graeci* iii 149 Walz; with λέγειν or σκοπεῖν ib. 256; with σκοπεῖν by Priscian xviii 299. 'Both verbs occur below, and neither is needed here' (Bl), but λέγειν is retained as the reading of the mss both here and in Prooem 1. || 4 ὑπὸ τούτων om Prooem 1 (Bl). || 5 ἡσυχίαν ἂν almost all mss (Weil, Bl¹): ἡσυχίαν S in Prooem 1 (Bl²³). || καὶ αὐτὸς A Y and Prooem 1 (Cobet): αὐτὸς S. || 6 ὑπὲρ S A Y: περὶ vulgo. || 7 πρότερον om Hermog iii 273 (Bl¹); since restored to text by Bl.

2 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ' εἰ πάνν
 φαύλως ἔχειν δοκεῖ. ὁ γάρ ἐστι χεῖριστον αὐτῶν
 ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλ- 15
 λοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο ;
 ὅτι οὐδὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν δεόντων ποι-
 ούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματ' ἔχει, ἐπεί, εἴ
 τοι πάνθ' ἃ προσήκε πραττόντων οὕτως εἶχεν,
 3 οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. ἔπειτ' 20
 ἐνθυμητέον καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ τοῖς
 εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμιμνησκομένοις, ἡλίκην ποτ'
 ἐχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ
 πολὺς, ὡς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον
 ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείναθ' 25
 ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον.
 p. 41 τίνος οὖν εἵνεκα ταῦτα λέγω ; ἵν' ἴδῃτ' ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ θεάσησθε, ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλατ-
 τομένοις ὑμῖν ἐστιν φοβερόν, οὔτ', ἂν ὀλιγορῇτε,
 τοιοῦτον οἶον ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι 30
 χρώμενοι τῇ τότε ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς
 ἐκρατεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασιν τὸν
 νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὕβρει τούτου, δι' ἣν ταρτα-

§ 2 l. 14 αὐτῶν MSS (Weil) : om Hermog iii 359 (Bl). || 18
 ἐπεὶ εἴ τοι **S B F** (Weil, Bl) : ἐπεὶ τοί γε εἰ vulgo : ἐπεὶ τοι εἰ **S** in
 9 § 5 (Bekker, Dind, Sauppe, Weil) : ἐπεὶ εἴ γε Prooem 30.

§ 3 l. 26 δικαίων **S O** : Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων vulgo, interpolated
 from 2 § 24 where (as in 15 § 29) the Adj. is necessary. || 27
 ἴδῃτε Bl : εἰδῇτε MSS (Weil). The Perf. εἰδῇτε does not
 harmonise with the Aor. θεάσησθε, and the expression of
 purpose in ἵνα agrees better with a single act of recognition
 (ἴδῃτε) than with a continuous state of knowledge (εἰδῇτε) ; εἰ
 and ἵ are often interchanged (Bl³). || 30 βούλοισθε Dobree,
 GHSchaefer etc : βούλησθε MSS.

τόμεθ' ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὧν ἐχρῆν. εἰ 4
 35 δέ τις ὑμῶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δυσπολέμητον
 οἶεται τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι, σκοπῶν τό τε πλήθος
 τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ τὰ χωρία
 πάντ' ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἶεται,
 λογισάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ' ὅτι εἴχομέν ποθ' ἡμεῖς
 40 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι Πύδναν καὶ Ποτείδαιαν καὶ
 Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οἰκείου
 κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου νῦν ὄντων
 ἔθνων αὐτονομούμενα καλεῦθερ' ὑπῆρχε, καὶ μάλ-
 λον ἡμῖν ἐβούλετ' ἔχειν οἰκείως ἢ κείνῳ. εἰ 5
 45 τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην,
 ὡς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις ἔχουσι
 τοσαύτ' ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον
 ὄντα συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν
 ἔπραξεν, οὐδὲ τοσαύτην ἐκτήσατ' ἂν δύναμιν.
 50 ἀλλ' εἶδεν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦτο καλῶς
 ἐκείνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρί'
 ἄθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμεν' ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ'
 ὑπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ τοῖς
 ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμε-
 55 λούντων. καὶ γάρ τοι ταύτῃ χρησάμενος τῇ 6
 γνώμῃ πάντα κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν
 ὡς ἂν ἐλὼν τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ δὲ σύμμαχα καὶ
 φίλα ποιησάμενος· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσ- p.

§ 4 l. 40 ποτειδαιαν, the form found in Attic inscriptions (Meisterhans *Gram.* p. 42²): Ποτίδαιαν MSS.

§ 5 l. 49 ἐκτήσατ' ἂν A suppl Y: ἐκτήσατο S etc (Weil). || 50 εἶδεν S B: οἶδεν vulgo: ᾔδεν Cobet.

§ 6 l. 57 ὡς ἂν ἐλὼν τις ἔχοι MSS (Weil): ἐλὼν om O¹: ἔχοι om Aug 3: ὡς ἂν ἐλὼν Krüger: ὡς ἂν ἐλὼν τις Bl cp. Aristeides i 465 τὰ μὲν ὡς ἂν ἐκὼν τις, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἄκων.

ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς
 ἂν ὀρώσι παρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέ- 60
 7 λοντας ἂν χρή. ὦ ἂν τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐβελήσητε γενέσθαι
 γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος
 ὑμῶν, οὗ δεῖ καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν
 χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει, πᾶσαν ἀφείς τὴν εἰρωνείαν 65
 ἕτοιμος πράττειν ὑπάρξῃ, ὁ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχων
 εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι,—συν-
 ελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς ἐὰν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐβελήσητε
 γενέσθαι, καὶ παύσῃσθ' αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος
 παιήσειν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ 70
 αὐτοῦ πράξειν, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν κομιεῖσθ',
 ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ κατερραθυμημένα πάλιν
 8 ἀναλήψεσθε, καὶ κεῖνον τιμωρήσεσθε. μὴ γὰρ ὥς
 θεῶ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέσθαι πράγ-
 ματ' ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις ἐκείνον καὶ 75
 δέδι' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν
 πάννυ νῦν δοκούντων οἰκείως ἔχειν· καὶ ἅπανθ'
 ὅσα περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἐνι,
 ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου χρή νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι.
 κατέπτηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα νῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντ' 80

§ 7 l. 65 τὴν MSS (Weil): om Dionys Hal *Ant. Rom.* vii 292
 πᾶσαν εἰρωνείαν ἀφείς, and *de Dem.* c. 23 (Madvig, Frohberger,
 and Bl here and in 24 § 49 πᾶσαν ἀφῆρησαι παντοῦ τὴν συγ-
 γνώμην). Cp. *Soph. Phil.* 120 πᾶσαν αἰσχύνην ἀφείς. || 66
 [πράττειν] Dobree: 'neque loci sententiae aptum est neque in
 εἰσφέρειν et στρατεύεσθαι dividi potest' (Cobet). || 68 [ἀπλῶς]
 Cobet, Bl¹: om A suppl: 'retinendum propter numeros' Bl².
 || ἐὰν: ἂν Dind (Weil): ἦν MSS, a form not used by Dem. || 69
 παύσασθαι Cobet (with hiatus before αὐτὸς). || 72 [καὶ τὰ κατερρ.
 —ἀναλήψεσθε]? Bl³. || πάλιν ~~~~~, om Dio Cass 45, 289 A,
 62, 705 B, Dionys Hal *Ant. Rom.* iv 94, 23.

§ 8 l. 74 τὰ παρόντα om Bl¹. || 77 ἔχειν S alone: + αὐτῷ vulgo.
 || 80 πάντα ταῦτα S (Weil): ταῦτα πάντα vulgo: πάντα Y (Bl).

ἀποστροφὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτήτα καὶ
 ῥαθυμίαν, ἣν ἀποθέσθαι φημὶ δεῖν ἤδη. Ὡς ὁρᾶτε 9
 γὰρ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἱ προελη-
 λυθ' ἀσελγείας ἄνθρωπος, ὃς οὐδ' αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν
 85 δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ'
 ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους ὥς φασι λέγει,
 καὶ οὐχ οἷός ἐστ' ἔχων ἂ κατέστραπται μένειν
 ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι προσπεριβάλλεται καὶ
 κύκλῳ πανταχῇ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ καθημένους p.
 90 περιστοιχίζεται πότε οὖν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 10
 πόθ' ἂ χρὴ πράξετε; ἐπειδὰν τί γένηται;
 ἐπειδὰν νῆ Δί' ἀνάγκη τις ᾖ. νῦν δὲ τί χρὴ τὰ
 γιγνόμεν' ἡγεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς
 ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 95 πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. ἢ βούλεσθ', εἰπέ-
 μοι, περιιόντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι, “λέγεται τι
 καινόν;” Ὡς γένοιτ' ἂν τι καινότερον, ἢ Μακεδῶν
 ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίους καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλ-
 λήνων διοικῶν; “τέθνηκε Φίλιππος;” “οὐ μὰ 11
 100 Δί', ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ.” τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ
 γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον
 Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἅνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς
 πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν

§ 9 l. 84 ἄνθρωπος **S** alone: ἄνθρωπος vulgo: [ἄνθρωπος] Westermann. || 87 οἷός **S**: οἷός τ' vulgo. || 90 περιστοιχίζεται: περισχοινίζεται variant in Harpocration.

§ 10 l. 92 τις ᾖ vulgo (Weil, Bl³): τις om **S** (with hiatus): τις ᾖ om schol p. 150, 1 (Bl¹). || 93 οἶμαι vulgo: οἶομαι **S** (Voemel, Weil). || 94 ὑπὲρ mss (Weil): om Bl, cp. schol p. 150, 7 ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη μεγίστη ἀνάγκη καθέστηκεν. || 96 αὐτῶν: ἀλλήλων [Longinus] περὶ ὕψους 18. || πυνθάνεσθαι **S B F**: + κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν vulgo, added by later hand in margin of **S**, derived from [11] § 17.

αὐτοῦ ῥώμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηύξηται, ὅσον παρὰ τὴν
 12 ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. ▽ καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο· εἴ τι ¹⁰⁵
 πάθοι, καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν (ἥπερ αἰεὶ βέλτιον
 ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα) καὶ τοῦτ'
 ἐξεργάσαιτο, ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἅπασιν
 ἂν τοῖς πράγμασιν τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες,
 ὅπως βούλεσθε διοικήσαισθε, ὥς δὲ νῦν ἔχει, ¹¹⁰
 οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν, Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι
 δύναισθ' ἂν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς
 καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις.

13 Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέ-
 λοντας ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντας ἐτοίμως, ὥς ἐγνωκότων ¹¹⁵
 ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων παύομαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ
 τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς, ἣν ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν τῶν
 τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς οἶομαι, καὶ τὸ πλήθος
 ὅσον, καὶ πόρους οὔστινας χρημάτων, καὶ τᾶλλ'
 ὥς ἂν μοι βέλτιστα καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρα- ¹²⁰
 σκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν, δεηθεὶς
 P. ⁴⁴ ὑμῶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοσοῦτον. ἐπειδὰν
 14 ἅπαντ' ἀκούσητε κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον προλαμ-
 βάνετε· μηδ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τινι καινὴν
 παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν με τὰ πράγμαθ' ¹²⁵
 ἡγείσθω. οὐ γὰρ οἱ “ταχύ” καὶ “τήμερον”

§ 12 l. 106 τὸ τῆς **A** suppl **Y** and corrected **F** (Bl): τὰ τῆς **S** etc (Weil). || ἡμῖν ὑπάρξει (or ὑπάρξει) all mss except **S**, which has ὑπάρξει in margin: [ὑπάρξει] Dobree?, Sauppe: retained by Dind and Cobet, who omit καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο. || 107 ἐπιμελούμεθα: ἐπιμελεῖται Cobet. || 110 διοικήσεσθε **S** and most other mss.

§ 13 l. 117 τῶν τοιούτων ἂν Bl¹, to avoid hiatus. || 118 οἶομαι **S F B**: ἡγοῦμαι vulgo. || 120 δοκεῖ Dobree: δοκῇ **S** etc.

§ 14 l. 125 ἀναβάλλειν **S B**, Prooem 21 § 4 ἀναβαλεῖν: ἀναβάλλεσθαι vulgo.

εἰπόντες μάλιστ' εἰς δέον λέγουσιν (οὐ γὰρ ἂν
τά γ' ἤδη γεγενημένα τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ κωλύσαι
δυνηθεῖμεν), ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν δείξῃ τίς πορισθεῖσα 15
130 παρασκευὴ καὶ πόσις καὶ πόθεν, διαμεῖναι δυνή-
σεται, ἕως ἂν ἡ διαλυσώμεθα πεισθέντες τὸν
πόλεμον, ἡ περιγενώμεθα τῶν ἐχθρῶν· οὕτω γὰρ
οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν ἂν κακῶς. οἶμαι
τοῖνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύων εἴ τις
135 ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεταιί τι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπόσχεσις
οὕτω μεγάλη, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμ' ἤδη τὸν ἔλεγχον
δώσει· κριταὶ δ' ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τριήρεις 16
πεντήκοντα ἑκαστὴν παρασκευάσασθαι φημι δεῖν, εἴτ'
140 αὐτοὺς οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἔχειν, ὥς, εἴαν τι δέῃ,
πλευστήειν εἰς ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἐμβᾶσιν. πρὸς δὲ
τούτοις τοῖς ἡμίσεσιν τῶν ἱππέων ἱππαγωγούς
τριήρεις καὶ πλοῖ' ἱκανὰ εὐτρεπίσαι κελεύω.
ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξαίφνης 17
145 ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας αὐτοῦ στρατείας
εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὀλυνθον καὶ
ὅποι βούλεται· δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τούτ' ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ
παραστήσαι, ὥς ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης
τῆς ἄγαν, ὥσπερ εἰς Εὐβοίαν καὶ πρότερόν ποτέ
150 φασιν εἰς Ἀλῖαρτον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πρόην

l. 129 δυνηθεῖμεν Bl: -θείμεν MSS (Weil).

§ 15 l. 131 ἕως S etc (Voemel, Weil): τέως BF and Prooem
21 § 4 (Bl). || 134 κωλύων: καταλύων S; κατακωλύων? Weil. || 135
οὖν suspected by Bl; the MSS vary in § 30, 18 § 225, and 19 § 27.

§ 16 l. 139 παρασκευάσασθαι: παρεσκευάσθαι Bl³; παρασκευά-
σθαι O¹ (cp. § 19 l. 160). || 143 [τριήρεις] GHSchaefer, as in § 21
and Aristoph. Eq. 599 (approved by Bl²³). || [κελεύω] Cobet.

§ 17 l. 148 παραστήσαι S alone; παραστήναι vulgo (Sauppe).

- 18 εἰς Πύλας, ἴσως ἂν ὀρμήσαιτε· (οὔτοι παντελῶς,
 P. 45 οὐδ' εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τοῦτο, ὥς ἔγωγέ φημι δεῖν,
 εὐκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν·) ἔν' ἡ διὰ τὸν φόβον,
 εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς—εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς·
 εἰσὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ 155
 παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πλείους τοῦ δέοντος—ἡσυχίαν
 ἔχῃ, ἡ παριδὼν ταύτ' ἀφύλακτος ληφθῇ, μηδενὸς
 ὄντος ἐμποδῶν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν ὑμῖν,
 19 ἂν ἐνδῶ καιρόν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἃ πᾶσιν δεδόχθαι
 φημὶ δεῖν καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι προσήκειν οἴομαι· 160
 πρὸ δὲ τούτων δυνάμιν τιν' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
 φημὶ προχειρίσασθαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἡ συνεχῶς πολε-
 μήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκείνον ποιήσει. μή μοι μυρίους
 μηδὲ δισμυρίους ξένους, μηδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους
 ταύτας δυνάμεις, ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται, καὶ 165
 ὑμεῖς ἓνα καὶ πλείους καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ ὄντιν οὖν
 χειροτονήσητε στρατηγόν,) τούτῳ πείσεται κα-
~~κολουθήσει.~~ ¶ καὶ τροφήν ταύτῃ πορίσαι κελεύω.
 20 ἔσται δ' αὕτη τίς ἡ δύναμις καὶ πόση, καὶ πόθεν

L. 151 ὀρμήσαιτε: ὀρμήσετε S.

§ 18 l. 152 ποιήσαιτ' (or ποιήσητ' Y, or ποιήσετ' S) ἂν τοῦτο
 MSS (Weil): ποιήσαιτ' ἂν ἤδη (6 § 27, 8 § 53) Bl, following

Hermog iii 51, some of whose MSS have ποιήσετε νῆ Δία, owing
 probably to confusion between ΠΟΙΗCΑΙΤΕΝΗΔΙΩC and ΠΟΙΗ-
 CΑΙΤΑΝΗΔΗΩC: ἤδη and νῆ Δία are confounded elsewhere,
Rhet. Gr. iv 748, 26 ὅταν ἤδη ἀνάγκη τις ᾖ (§ 10). || 153 ἐστὶν
 MSS: ἔσται Hermog iii 51 (Bl). || 155 ἐξαγγελούντες? Dobree.
 || 159 καιρόν S alone: καιρός.

§ 19 l. 160 παρεσκευάσθαι S, correction for παρασκ.: παρα-
 σκευάσασθαι vulgo. || 161 πρὸ δὲ τούτων S F B etc; cp. Sauppe
Er. Crit. p. 39: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις vulgo. || 165 ἡ (first Aldine ed.
 and H Wolf) τῆς πόλεως ἔσται (S), Dobree: ἡ (most MSS) τῆς
 πόλεως ἔστω vulgo. || 165–6 <ᾧστε> ἂν ὑμεῖς Dobree: <καὶ>
 καὶ ὑμεῖς H Wolf, Franke, Westermann⁶.

§ 20 l. 169 δύναμις; . . πόση; 170 ξέει; Bl³.

170 τὴν τροφὴν ἔξει, καὶ πῶς ταῦτ' ἐθελήσει ποιεῖν ;
 ἐγὼ φράσω, καθ' ἑκάστον τούτων διεξιὼν χωρίς.
 ξένους μὲν λέγω — καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσεθ' ὁ
 πολλάκις ὑμᾶς ἔβλαψεν· πάντ' ἐλάττω νομί-
 ζοντες εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἐν τοῖς
 175 ψηφίσμασιν αἰρούμενοι, ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν οὐδὲ
 τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε· ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες καὶ
 πορίσαντες, τούτοις προστίθετ', ἂν ἐλάττω
 φαίνεται. λέγω δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας 21
 δισχιλίους, τούτων δ' Ἀθηναίους φημὶ δεῖν εἶναι
 180 πεντακοσίους, ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας καλῶς
 ἔχειν δοκῇ, χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευομένους, μὴ
 μακρὸν τούτου, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν, p. 4
 ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξένους
 εἶναι κελεύω. καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἱππέας δια-
 185 κοσίους, καὶ τούτων πεντήκοντ' Ἀθηναίους
 τοῦλάχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς πεζοὺς, τὸν αὐτὸν
 τρόπον στρατευομένους· καὶ ἱππαγωγοὺς τού-
 τοις. εἶεν· τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι; ταχείας 22
 τριήρεις δέκα· δεῖ γάρ, ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ναυτι-
 190 κόν, καὶ ταχειῶν τριήρων ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς
 ἡ δύναμις πλέῃ. πόθεν δὴ τούτοις ἡ τροφή
 γενήσεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ δείξω,
 ἐπειδάν, διότι τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι τὴν

l. 170 ἐθελήσει S alone: ἐθελήσετε vulgo. || 172 ποιήσετε
 Bekker, Sauppe: ποιήσεθ' Weil, Bl: ποιήσητε MSS (Voemel). || ὁ
 S alone: τοῦθ' δ vulgo. || 176 [ποιήσαντες καὶ]? Dobree.

§ 21 l. 183 [ἀλλήλοις] Bl, om Dionys Hal *Ant. Rom.* ii 27, 32
 Kiessling στρατεύεσθαι τε ὀλιγάκις καὶ ἐκ διαδοχῆς, and Libanius
 iv 294, 23.

§ 22 l. 190 ὅπως . . <ἂν> πλέῃ Cobet. || 193 οἶμαι MSS
 (Weil, Bl¹³): οἶομαι Reiske, Bl².

δύναμιν καὶ πολίτας συστρατενομένους εἶναι κελεύω, διδάξω.

195

- 23 Τοσαύτην μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ἔνι νῦν ἡμῖν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνῳ παραταξομένην, ἀλλὰ ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι τὴν πρώτην· οὐ τοίνυν ὑπέρογκον αὐτήν (οὐ γὰρ ἔστι 200 μισθὸς οὐδὲ τροφή), οὐδὲ παντελῶς ταπείνῃν
- 24 εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας δὲ παρεῖναι καὶ συμπλεῖν διὰ ταῦτα κελεύω, ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' ἀκούω ξενικὸν τρέφειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὗ Πολύστρατος ἡγεῖτο καὶ Ἰφικράτης καὶ Χαβρίας καὶ 205 ἄλλοι τινές, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς συστρατεύεσθαι· καὶ οἷδ' ἀκούων, ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους παραταττόμενοι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐνίκων [οὔτοι] οἱ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ' ἐκείνων. ἔξ οὗ δ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ τὰ ξενικὰ ὑμῖν στρατεύεται, τοὺς φίλους νικᾷ καὶ τοὺς 210 συμμάχους, οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ μείζους τοῦ δέοντος γεγόνασιν. καὶ παρακύψαντ' ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως πόλεμον, πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ πανταχοῖ μᾶλλον οἴχεται πλέοντα, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ,
- p. 47 εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄρχειν μὴ διδόντα μισθόν. 215
- 25 τί οὖν κελεύω ; τὰς προφάσεις ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μισθὸν πορίσαντας καὶ στρατιώτας οἰκέλους ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας

1. 194 συστρατενομένους Voemel?, Weil: τοὺς συστρατευσα-
μένους Dobree, cp. § 24 συστρατεύεσθαι: τοῖς στρατενομένοις
παρεῖναι Spengel: τοὺς στρατενομένους MSS (Bl).

§ 24 l. 208 [οὔτοι] Bl, to avoid hiatus. || 214 [πλέοντα] Bl,
om Priscian xviii 261. || ὁ στρατηγὸς δ' Bl, to avoid ~ ~ ~ || 215
ἔστιν vulgo: ἔστ' S (Weil).

τῶν στρατηγουμένων παρακαταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ
 220 νῦν γε γέλως ἔσθ' ὥς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασιν.
 εἰ γὰρ ἔροιτό τις ὑμᾶς, "εἰρήνην ἄγετ' ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι;" "μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἡμεῖς γ'," εἴποιτ' ἄν,
 "ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν." οὐκ ἐχειρο- 26
 τονεῖτε δ' ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ
 225 στρατηγοὺς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο;
 τί οὖν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν; πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν ἂν
 ἐκπέμψητ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς
 πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν· ὥσπερ γὰρ
 οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν
 230 χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους,
 οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν ὦ ἄνδρες 27
 Ἀθηναῖοι ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἱππαρχον παρ'
 ὑμῶν, ἄρχοντας οἰκείους εἶναι, ἵν' ἦν ὥς ἀληθῶς
 τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Λῆμνον τὸν
 235 παρ' ὑμῶν ἱππαρχον δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν
 τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαου
 ἱππαρχεῖν. καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα
 λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι
 τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ. ✕
 240 "Ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγείσθε λέγεσθαι, 28
 τὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται,

§ 25 l. 219 *στρατηγουμένων* (cp. § 47) MSS (Weil): *δρωμένων* Bl, following Libanius iii p. 318 *ἐδέξαντο παρ' ἡμῶν ἄρχοντας*, ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας τῶν δρωμένων, cp. Dio Cass 41 p. 168 c καὶ μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπόπτας τῶν τε λεγομένων καὶ πραττομένων.

§ 26 l. 223 οὐκ χειροτονεῖτε δ' S¹: οὐδ' χειροτονεῖτε δ', with a dash after δύο (225), ? Weil, cp. 6 § 3 οἶα ποιεῖ δέ. || 227 ἐκπέμψητε MSS (preceded by ∪∪), Weil: πέμψητε A suppl Y, Patm schol (Bl).

§ 27 l. 232 ἱππαρχον S alone: ἱππάρχους all other MSS and Anon. Rhet. viii 640 Walz. || 237 ἱππαρχεῖν; vulgo (Bl): 'acerbior est irrisio sine interrogatione' Voemel (Weil).

μάλιστα ποθεῖτ' ἀκοῦσαι. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περαίνω.
 χρήματα τοίνυν—ἔστιν μὲν ἡ τροφή, σιτηρέσιον
 μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ, τάλαντ' ἐνενήκοντα καὶ
 μικρόν τι πρὸς, δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ ταχείαις τετταρά- 245
 p. 48 κοντα τάλαντα, εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἑμναῖ τοῦ
 μηνὸς ἐκάστου, στρατιώταις δὲ δισχιλίους τοσαῦθ'
 ἕτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης δραχμὰς
 σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δ' ἵππεῦσι διακοσίοις
 οὔσιν, ἐὰν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ 250
 29 τοῦ μηνός, δώδεκα τάλαντα. ~~¶~~ εἰ δέ τις οἶεται
 μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι, σιτηρέσιον τοῖς στρατευο-
 μένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ
 οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι, τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖται
 τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτὸ τὸ στράτευμ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, 255
 οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν συμ-
 μάχων, ὥστ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ. ἐγὼ συμπλέων
 ἐθελοντῆς πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν ἔτοιμος, ἐὰν μὴ ταῦθ'
 οὕτως ἔχῃ. πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων,
 ἂ παρ' ὑμῶν κελεύω γενέσθαι ; τοῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. 260

§ 28 l. 242 περαίνω S alone: περανῶ. || 243 ἔστιν: ἔστω
 Tournier. || σιτηρέσιον S alone: + τοῖς στρατευομένοις vulgo (§ 29
 l. 252). || 248 ἵνα δέκα MSS (Weil): ἐὰν δέκα preferred by Bl,
 partly to avoid υ υ υ υ.

§ 29 l. 252 ἀφορμὴν εἶναι S F (Sauppe, Voemel, Dind, Weil):
 ἀφορμὴν a few inferior MSS (Bl). || 254 προσποριεῖται Dobree,
 Küster (Bl), ται having fallen out before τα: προσποριεῖ best
 MSS (Voemel, Weil), cp. 2 § 16, 8 § 10, Isocr *Antid.* § 113,
 Aristoph *Eq.* 765. || 257 [ἐγὼ—ἔχῃ] Dind: defended by quota-
 tion in Hermog iii 341 and Aristeid ix 379. || καὶ γὰρ συμπ.
 Hermog. || συμπλέων MSS (Weil): πλέων Aristeid (Bl). || 260
 γενέσθαι S alone; mark of interrogation added by Weil (Bl),
 cp. § 22, 41 § 27: γενήσεται vulgo.

ΠΟΡΟΤ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ

Ἄ μὲν ἡμεῖς ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δεδυνήμεθ' 30
 εὐρεῖν ταύτ' ἐστίν. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε
 τὰς γνώμας, ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη χειροτονήσετε, ἵνα
 μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς
 265 πολεμῇτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.

Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ 31
 πολέμου καὶ ὅλης τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλευσασθαι,
 εἰ τὸν τόπον ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς χώρας, πρὸς
 ἣν πολεμεῖτ', ἐνθυμηθείητε, καὶ λογίσαισθ' ὅτι
 270 τοῖς πνεύμασιν καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ
 πολλὰ προλαμβάνων διαπράττεται Φίλιππος, καὶ
 φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἢ τὸν χειμῶν' ἐπιχειρεῖ,
 ἥνικ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθ' ἐκεῖσ' ἀφικέσθαι.
 δεῖ τοίνυν ταύτ' ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ βοηθείαις 32
 275 πολεμεῖν (ὕστεριον γὰρ ἀπάντων), ἀλλὰ παρα- p. 49
 σκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. ὑπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν
 χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Λήμνῳ καὶ
 Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιάθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ
 νήσοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἅ

§ 30 l. 261 ἃ μὲν **S** etc and Dionys Hal *ad Ammaeum* i c. 10 (Sauppe, Voemel, Bl): ἃ μὲν οὖν **Y** (Dind, Weil). μὲν οὖν follows the reading of a document in 6 § 28; μὲν τοίνυν in 18 § 75, 19 §§ 52, 62, 155, 171, 177, 287; μὲν alone in 18 § 56, 19 § 86. || 262 ἐπιχειροτονήσῃ (sc the president) Tournier. || 263 ἂν Dobree, Sauppe *Er. Crit.* pp. 42 f (Voemel, Weil, Bl): ἃ ἂν MSS. || χειροτονήσετε **S**¹ **F B**: χειροτονήσατε vulgo. || 264 ἐν τοῖς ψ. **S F** etc: τοῖς ψ. **A Y** (Bekker). || 265 [ἀλλὰ—ἔργοις] Cobet. || τοῖς ἔργοις most MSS (Weil, Bl¹): ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις **S** alone (Voemel, Bl³).

§ 31 l. 268 τὸν om **S**. || πρὸς ἣν MSS (Weil): ἣ Aristeid ix 367 (Bl). || 273 δυναίμεθα **S**: δυνώμεθα vulgo.

χρὴ στρατεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει· τὴν δ' ὥραν ²⁸⁰
 τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ῥάδιον
 καὶ τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ
 χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασιν
 ῥαδίως ἔσται.

- 33 Ἄ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, ²⁸⁵
 παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστάς ὑφ'
 ὑμῶν βουλευέσεται· ἃ δ' ὑπάρξαι δεῖ παρ' ὑμῶν,
 ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀγὼ γέγραφα. ἂν ταῦτ' ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι πορίσητε, τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἃ λέγω,
 εἶτα καὶ τᾶλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώ- ²⁹⁰
 τας τὰς τριήρεις τοὺς ἱππέας, ἔντελῇ πᾶσαν τὴν
 δύναμιν, νόμῳ κατακλείσητ' ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ
 μένουν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ
 πορισταὶ γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ
 στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον ζητοῦντες, παύσεσθ' αἰεὶ ²⁹⁵
 περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι καὶ πλεον οὐδὲν
 34 ποιοῦντες, κἄτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαι-
 ρήσεσθε. ἔστι δ' οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων
 ὑμῖν πολεμεῖ συμμάχων, ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς ³⁰⁰
 πλείοντας τὴν θάλατταν. ἔπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ;
 τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσεσθε, οὐχ
 ὥσπερ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον, εἰς Λῆμνον καὶ

§ 32 l. 283 στόμασιν <ἐφορμεῖν, ὅθεν τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιεῖν>
 ῥαδίως ἔσται Cobet. || 284 ἔσται MSS: εἴσεσθε HWolf, Bekker,
 Dind: εἴσεσθε διαγνῶναι Reiske (Auger).

§ 33 l. 289 πρῶτον ἃ λέγω ~ ~ ~ (Weil): πρῶτον λέγω S alone
 (Bl), cp. 57 § 24, 8 § 24 etc; but S has a dot above the line,
 after πορίσητε, possibly implying the accidental omission of α
 before λ. || 295 ζητοῦντες MSS: ἀπαιτοῦντες ~ ~ ~ Cobet (Dind);
 ἐξαιτοῦντες Voemel.

Ἰμβρον ἐμβαλὼν αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους
 305 ὥχετ' ἄγων, πρὸς τῷ Γεραιστῷ τὰ πλοῖα συλ-
 λαβὼν ἀμύθητα χρήματ' ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευταῖ' εἰς
 Μαραθῶν' ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας p. 50
 ὥχετ' ἔχων τριήρη, ὑμεῖς δ' οὔτε ταῦτα δύνασθε
 κωλύειν, οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ἂν προθῆσθε,
 310 βοηθεῖν. καίτοι τί δήποτ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι 35
 νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐορτὴν καὶ
 τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἀεὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου
 γίγνεσθαι, ἂν τε δεινοὶ λάχωσιν ἂν τ' ἰδιῶται
 [οἱ] τούτων ἐκατέρων ἐπιμελησόμενοι, εἰς ἃ
 315 τοσαῦτ' ἀναλίσκεται χρήματα, ὅς' οὐδ' εἰς ἓνα
 τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρα-
 σκευὴν ὅσῃν οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει,
 τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν
 320 καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν εἰς Παγασάς, τὸν
 εἰς Ποτεΐδαιαν; ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἅπαντα νόμῳ 36
 τέτακται, καὶ πρόοιδεν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ,
 τίς χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασίαρχος τῆς φυλῆς, πότε
 καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τί λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν,

§ 34 l. 305 ἄγων. Bl: ἄγων καὶ, or ἔχων καὶ, most MSS: ἔχων S alone (Weil). || Γεραιστῷ S B O (Bl), alternative form in *Etym. Magn.* || 306 τελευταῖα S alone: + δὲ vulgo. || 308 δύνασθε S A Y O (Sauppe, Voemel etc): ἐδύνασθε vulgo. || 309 προθῆσθε S: προέλησθε vulgo.

§ 35 l. 314 [οἱ] τούτων—ἐπιμελησόμενοι Bl³: [οἱ τούτων—ἐπιμελούμενοι] Bl¹ 'quae neque subiecti pars esse possunt neque (propter articulum) praedicato aptam formam habent.' ἐπιμελούμενοι S A Y (Weil): ἐπιμελησόμενοι vulgo. || 315 ἀναλίσκεται S A (Weil): ἀναλίσκετε vulgo (Bl). || 316 παρασκευὴν S A Y: τοσαύτην παρασκευὴν vulgo. || 319 τὸν . . τὸν . . τὸν: τῶν . . τῶν . . τῶν S.

§ 36 l. 320 ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἅπαντα MSS (Weil, Bl³): κείνα μὲν πάντα, or ἐκεῖ μὲν ἅπαντα Bl¹, to avoid ∪∪∪. || 322 πότε joined by Voemel to previous clause. || 323 τί λαβόντα most MSS (Weil, Bl): τίνα λαβόντα ∪∪∪ S alone (Sauppe, Voemel, Dind).

οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οὐδ' ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις ἡμέ-
 ληται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ τούτου ³²⁵
 παρασκευῇ, ἄτακτ' ἀδιόρθωτ' ἀόρισθ' ἅπαντα.
 τοιγαροῦν ἅμ' ἀκηκόαμέν τι, καὶ τριηράρχους καθ-
 ίσταμεν, καὶ τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα, καὶ
 περὶ χρημάτων πόρου σκοποῦμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ'
 ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ τοὺς χωρὶς ³³⁰
 οἰκοῦντας, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν, εἴτ' ἀντεμβιβάζειν,
 εἴτ' ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται, προαπώλετ' ἐφ' ἂν
 37 ἐκπλέωμεν· τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ
 παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων οὐ μένουσιν καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυ- ³³⁵
 τήτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν. ἃς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον
 δυνάμεις οἴομεθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἰαί τ'
 οὔσαι ποιεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται.
 p. 51 ὁ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως ἐλήλυθεν, ὥστ' ἐπιστέλ-
 λειν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἤδη τοιαύτας ἐπιστολάς.

340

1. 324 οὐδ' ἀνεξέτ. οὐδὲν οὐδ' Dobree. || 326 ἀόριστα ἀδιόρθωτα vulgo. || ἅπαντα **S** etc (Bl): πάντα **B** (Weil). || 331 εἴτ' ἀντεμβιβάζειν **S** (Sauppe *Ep. Crit.* p. 44); placed by Weil before τοὺς μετοίκους in previous line, *Rev. de Philol.* 1877 p. 267: ἀντεμβιβάζειν vulgo. || 332 μέλλεται **S** alone: μέλλετε vulgo. || προαπώλετ' ἐφ' ἂν Bl, the sense requiring the gnomic aorist: προαπόλωλεν ἐφ' ἂν vulgo: προαπόλωλε (-ν Weil) τὸ ἐφ' ὃ ἂν **S** alone (Sauppe, Voemel, Weil).

§ 37 l. 334 παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν: to remove hiatus Benseler proposes either to write παρασκευάζειν or to place ἀναλίσκομεν after χρόνον: Voemel prefers the former. The text is defended by a quotation in Isidor Pelus v 369. || 335 οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ **S**: καιροὶ οὐ μένουσι vulgo (with hiatus): καιροὶ οὐκ ἀνάμενουσι (hiatus) **A Y** etc. || 336 εἰρωνείαν **S B**: ῥαθυμίαν vulgo, margins of **B O**; cp. § 8. || 337 οἰαί τ' οὔσαι mss (Voemel, Dind, Weil): οἰαί τε Bl, from Isidor Pelus l. c. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ ὕλας ἀπατῶμεν ἑαυτοὺς παρασκευάζειν, οὐδὲν οἰαί τε ποιεῖν ἐξελέγχονται.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ

* Τούτων ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν ἀνεγνωσμέ- 38
 νων ἀληθῇ μέν ἐστι τὰ πολλά, ὥς οὐκ ἔδει,
 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ ἡδέ' ἀκούειν. ἀλλ' εἰ
 μέν, ὅσ' ἂν τις ὑπερβῇ τῷ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ,
 345 καὶ τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑπερβήσεται, δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν
 δημηγορεῖν· εἰ δ' ἡ τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἂν ἡ μὴ
 προσήκουσα, ἔργῳ ζημία γίγνεται, αἰσχρὸν ἐστι
 φευακίζειν ἑαυτούς, καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀναβαλλομένους
 ἂν ἡ δυσχερῇ, πάντων ὑστερεῖν τῶν ἔργων,
 350 καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο δύνασθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς 39
 ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ χρωμένους οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς
 πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν
 πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ τῶν
 στρατευμάτων ἀξιώσκει τις ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸν
 355 ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς βουλευο-
 μένους, ἵν' ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ, ταῦτα πράττηται,
 καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντ' ἀναγκάζονται διώκειν.
 ὑμεῖς δ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πλείστην δύναμιν 40
 πάντων ἔχοντες, τριήρεις ὀπλίτας ἱππέας χρη-
 360 μάτων πρόσοδον, τούτων μὲν μέχρι τῆς τήμερον
 ἡμέρας οὐδενὶ πώποτ' εἰς δέον τι κέχρησθε,

§ 38 l. 349 ἂν Voemel, Weil, Bl: ἂ ἂν S alone (Sauppe, Dind): ὅσα ἂν vulgo and Stobaeus 54 § 10.

§ 39 l. 354 ἀξιώσκει τις ἂν S A Y etc (Weil): —ν ἂν τις vulgo.
 || 355 τοὺς εὐβουλ. vulgo; this would require τὸν ἀγαθὸν στρατηγὸν above: εὐ om S etc.

§ 40 l. 359 πάντων Bl, to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪: ἀπάντων MSS (Weil).
 || ἱππέας ὀπλίτας A Y (preferred by Bl on rhythmical grounds).
 || 361 εἰς δέον τι S F B: ἐν δέοντι vulgo, ΔΕΟΝ τι having been mistaken for ΔΕΟΝΤΙ, and ΕΝ prefixed.

οὐδὲν δ' ἀπολείπετε, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι πυκτεύουσιν, οὕτω πολεμεῖν Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πληγεὶς ἀεὶ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται, καὶν ἐτέρωσε πατάξῃ τις, ἐκείσ' εἰσὶν αἱ χεῖρες· προβάλλεσθαι ³⁶⁵ δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον οὐτ' οἶδεν οὐτ' ἐθέλει.

- 41 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἂν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκείσε βοηθεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, ἂν ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκείσε, p. 52 ἂν ἄλλοθί που, συμπαραθεῖτ' ἄνω κάτω, καὶ στρατηγεῖσθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου, βεβούλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν ³⁷⁰ αὐτοῖς συμφέρον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προορᾷτ' οὐδέν, πρὶν ἂν ἢ γεγενημένον ἢ γιγνόμενόν τι πύθησθε. ταῦτα δ' ἴσως πρότερον μὲν ἐνῆν· νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἤκει τὴν 42 ἀκμήν, ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἐγχωρεῖ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν ³⁷⁵ τις ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυνόμενος, τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχων ἂ κατέστραπται καὶ προείληφεν, ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἤθελε καὶ μηδὲν ἔπραττεν ἔτι, ἀποχρῆν ἐνίοις ³⁸⁰ ὑμῶν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ, ἐξ ὧν αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχιστ' ὠφληκότες ἂν ἦμεν δημοσία· νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν ἀεὶ τινι καὶ τοῦ πλείο-

1. 362 οὐδὲν δ' ἀπολείπετε Dobree (Sauppe, Dind, Weil, Bl) : οὐδενὸς δ' ἀπολείπετε S alone : οὐδενὸς δ' ἀπολείπεσθε vulgo (Voemel, Westermann ⁸). || ὥσπερ S : ὥσπερ δὲ (followed by πολεμεῖτε) vulgo. || 363 πολεμεῖν S¹ : πολεμεῖτε B¹. || 365 πατάξῃ τις vulgo (Bl²³) : πατάξῃς S alone, πατάξῃς Voemel, Dind, Weil, Bl¹, 'quod nescio quidni praestare dicamus, cp. Soph Trach. 2' (Sauppe). || 366 οἶδ' preferred by Bl.

§ 41 l. 371 [οὐδὲ πρὸ—οὐδέν] ? Dobree.

§ 42 l. 379 [κατέστραπται καὶ] ? Dobree and Weil, § 9. || προείληφε . . 380 ἤθελεν . . ἔπραττ' preferred by Bl². || 381 δοκῇ S and vulgo. || 382 [ἂν] ἦμεν, or (better) ἦμεν ἂν, Bl, to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪.

νος ὀρεγόμενος, ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαιθ' ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ
 385 μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκατε. θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, 43
 εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμεῖται μήτ' ὀργίζεται,
 ὁρῶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ
 πολέμου γεγεννημένην ὑπὲρ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι
 390 Φιλίππου, τὴν δὲ τελευταίην οὖσα ἤδη περὶ τοῦ
 μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι
 γ' οὐ στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μή τις κωλύσει. εἶτα τοῦτ'
 ἀναμενοῦμεν; καὶ τριήρεις κενὰς καὶ τὰς παρὰ
 τοῦ δεινός ἐλπίδας ἂν ἀποστείλητε, πάντ' ἔχειν
 οἴεσθε [καλῶς]; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθ'; οὐκ ἔξιμεν 44
 395 αὐτοὶ μέρει γέ τινα στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ καὶ
 μὴ πρότερον; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πλευσόμεθα;
 "ποῖ δὲ προσορμιούμεθ'"; ἤρετό τις. εὐρήσει

1. 385 ἀπεγνώκατε **S**: ἐαυτῶν (**F**) or αὐτῶν (**B** and Bekk
Anecd.) ἀπεγνώκατε vulgo, the latter preferred by Bl², 'ea
 omissio aegre defenditur.'

§ 43 l. 386 μὴτ' ὀργίζεται **S A Y**: μήτε λογίζεται vulgo. ||
 388 ὑπὲρ . . 389 περὶ Bl²³, to avoid hiatus: ὑπὲρ . . ὑπὲρ
 cod Urbinas etc: περὶ . . ὑπὲρ vulgo (Weil, Bl¹). || 390 ἀλλὰ μὴν
 κωλύσει transferred by Bl³ to beginning of section, to improve
 the sense; 'sententia minoribus litteris exprimenda esse videtur,
 quia nexum aperte turbat' Bl². || 391 κωλύσει **A O Y**: κωλύσει
S F B: αὐτὸν κωλύσει vulgo (as in [10] § 10 and 1 § 25), 'sed
 vel alterutro loco vel utroque restituendum ἐπισχῆσει, sec. Liban
 ii 421, 2' Bl. || 392 ἀναμενοῦμεν; Bl²³: ἀναμενοῦμεν, Weil, Bl¹.
 || 394 καλῶς MSS (Weil): [καλῶς] Wecklein, Soph *Ant.* 498, Eur
Med. 570; omitted by Aristeid i 791 πάντ' αὐτοὺς ἔχειν οἴεσθαι
 (Bl).

§ 44 l. 396 πλευσόμεθα **Y** and **S**¹: πλευσούμεθα vulgo, and
 Hermog iii 238 (Bekker). The form in -σομαι is mainly pre-
 ferred in **S**; both forms are found in Thuc, that in -σοῦμαι
 almost always in Xen (Voemel *Dem. Contiones* Proleg. § 88).
 || 397 ποῖ δὲ Bl (cp. 9 § 16, 23 § 58, 45 § 26): ποῖ δὴ vulgo,
 Hermog iii 341 (with variant πῇ δὴ) and περὶ ὕψους c. 18: ποῖ οὖν
S (Weil); 'hiatum in vulgi sermone reliquit orator; haec particula
 sub specie assentientis huic loco multo aptior est quam δὴ
 mirantis, ut observavit Sauppius' (Voemel). || [ἤρετό τις] Cobet.

- p. 53 τὰ σαθρὰ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶμεν· ἂν μέντοι καθώμεθ' οἴκοι, λοιδορουμένων ἀκούοντες ⁴⁰⁰ καὶ αἰτιωμένων ἀλλήλους τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων. ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως συναποσταλῇ, καὶ μὴ πᾶσα παρῇ, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὖμενές καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης συναγωνίζεται· ὅποι δ' ἂν ⁴⁰⁵ στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα κενὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψητε, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν δεόντων γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγελῶσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς ⁴¹⁰ τοιούτους ἀποστόλους. οὐ γὰρ ἔστ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἔν' ἄνδρα δυνηθῆναί ποτε ταῦθ' ὑμῖν πράξαι πάνθ' ὅσα βούλεσθε· ὑποσχέσθαι μέντοι καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν δεῖν' αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ τὸν δεῖν' ἔστι, τὰ δὲ πράγματ' ἐκ τούτων ἀπόλωλεν· ὅταν γὰρ ἡγῇται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ' ⁴¹⁵ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκείνος πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδόμενοι

1. 402 μὴ **S¹ A Y**: οὐ μὴ Bekker's stereotyped ed.; 'simplex negatio post compositam repetita tollit negandi vim, οὐδὲν οὐ i. q. nihil non; neque inter οὐδεὶς μή et οὐδὲν μή cum coniunctivo ea inseritur, 8 § 24, 18 § 246, 23 § 179' (Voemel).

§ 45 l. 404 καὶ μὴ πᾶσα παρῇ vulgo (Bl²³); cp. 18 § 272 καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γε, Ep. 3 § 40 μέρος εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, Ioann Chrysost i 302, 45 Duebner ὅταν δέ τις αὐτὴν ἐκ μέρους καταλύσαι δυνηθῇ, καὶ μὴ πᾶσαν καταβάλῃ: καὶ μὴ πᾶσα **S** alone (Sauppe, Voemel, Weil); [καὶ μὴ πᾶσα] Bl¹. || 405 [καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης] Bl¹; restored in Bl²³. || συναγωνίζεται **S** alone: ἡμῖν συναγωνίζεται vulgo; ἡμῖν altered into ὑμῖν **F B**; ὑμῖν **A Y**. || 410 [τοιούτους] Bl¹³ (twice omitted in schol Aristeid p. 196 Fr); restored in Bl².

§ 46 l. 414 ἡγῇται **S A Y**: ἡττῇται **F¹**, vulgo. || 416 ἐκεῖνος **S B** (Weil, Bl²): ἐκεῖ schol (Bl¹³): ἐκεῖνος ἐκεῖ vulgo; 'ἐκεῖ was added by grammarians as a contrast to ἐνθάδε' (Sauppe).

ῥαδίως ἐνθάδ' ὦσιν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἀκούσῃθ' ὅ τι ἂν τύχητε ψηφίζησθε, τί καὶ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ;

420 Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται ; ὅταν ὑμεῖς ὦ 47
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξῃτε στρατιώ-
 τας καὶ μάρτυρας τῶν στρατηγουμένων καὶ δικασ-
 τὰς οἵκαδ' ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν, ὥστε μὴ ἀκούειν
 425 ὁρᾶν. νῦν δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκει τὰ πράγματ' αἰσχύ-
 νης, ὥστε τῶν στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος δις καὶ τρίς
 κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
 ἐχθροὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἅπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι
 περὶ θανάτου τολμᾷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἀνδραπο-
 430 διστῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν θάνατον μᾶλλον αἰροῦνται
 τοῦ προσήκοντος· κακούργου μὲν γάρ ἐστι κριθέντ' p. 54
 ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις. / ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιιόντες μετὰ Λακεδαι- 48
 μονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων
 435 κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δ' ὡς
 πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυ-
 ριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ—λόγους πλάττοντες
 ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν ὦ 49
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκείνον μεθύειν

1. 417 ἂν om **S** (Bekker). || 418 τύχητε **S** alone : τύχη vulgo : + ῥαδίως most MSS.

§ 47 l. 424 ὑμᾶς μόνον **Y** (Bl³ on rhythmical grounds). || 429 [περὶ θανάτου] Cobet, Weil ; 'quo facto concinnitas numerorum perit ; aut utrumque περὶ θανάτου (427, 429) delendum aut neutrum' (Bl.) || 431 [κακούργου — πολεμίοις] Dobree, Cobet. || μὲν γὰρ : μὲν γ' ? Bl, 7 § 5, 18 § 93.

§ 48 l. 433 ἡμῶν **S** : ἡμῶν altered into ὑμῶν **B Y** : ὑμῶν vulgo. || 434 Φίλιππον φασιν **A Y** (Bl³, on rhythmical grounds). || 437 οἱ δὲ—Sauppe, Voemel, Bl³.

- τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαύτ' 440
 ὄνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τήν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν
 κωλυσόντων ὀρώντα καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπηρ-
 μένον, οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δί' οὕτω γε προαιρεῖσθαι
 πράττειν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ'
 ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τί μέλλει ποιεῖν ἐκείνος· ἀνοητότατοι 445
 50 γάρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες. ἀλλ' ἂν ἀφέντες
 ταύτ' ἐκεῖνα εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ
 τὰ ἡμέτερ' ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ, καὶ χρόνον πολὺν
 ὕβρικε, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἠλπίσαμεν
 τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καθ' ἡμῶν εὖρηται, 450
 καὶ τὰ λοιπ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστί, καὶ μὴ νῦν
 ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ' ἴσως ἀναγ-
 κασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν,—ἂν ταύτ' εἰδῶμεν,
 καὶ τὰ δέοντ' ἐσόμεθ' ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων
 ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἅττα ποτ' ἔσται 455
 δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλ', ἂν μὴ προσέχητε
 τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητ', εὖ
 εἰδέναι.
- 51 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν
 εἰλόμην λέγειν, ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν πεπει- 460
 σμένος ὦ, νῦν θ' ἂ γιγνώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς οὐδὲν
 ὑποστειλάμενος πεπαρρησίασμαι. ἐβουλόμην δ'

§ 49 l. 440 πεπραγμένων: πραγμάτων Dobree. || 441 [ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ] ? Bl. || 443 μὰ Δί' οὕτω γε Cobet (Bl²): γε om A Y (Bl¹³); prefixed in S etc (Weil) ∪ ∪ ∪. || 445 [ἀνοητότατοι — λογοποιοῦντες] Lambinus, Dobree, Cobet.

§ 50 l. 447 ἐκεῖνα A (Bl): ἐκεῖν Voemel, Weil: ἐκεῖνο vulgo. || ἄνθρωπος Bekker: ἄνθρωπος S: ἄνθρωπος vulgo. || 453 τοῦτο ποιεῖν MSS: αὐτὸ ποιεῖν Bl, to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪. || 456 [προσέχητε τὸν νοῦν καὶ] or [καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε] Dobree.

§ 51 l. 460 συνοίσειν S alone (Weil, Bl): + ὑμῖν vulgo.

ἄν, ὥσπερ ὑμῖν συμφέρον τὰ βέλτιστ' ἀκούειν
οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι συνοίσον καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστ'
465 εἰπόντι· πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν ἡδίων εἶχον. νῦν δ' ἐπ'
ἀδήλοις οὖσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμαυτῷ γενησο-
μένοις, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν, ἂν πράξητε,
ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν αἰροῦμαι. νικῶν δ' ὅ τι
πᾶσιν ἡμῖν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

I. 463 συμφέρον **Y** (GHSchaefer, Bl¹): συμφέρει **A**: ὥσπερ ὅτι
ὑμῖν συμφέρει vulgo, as in Prooem 23 (Weil) ∪ ∪ ∪. || τὰ **S**
(Weil, Bl¹): τὸ τὰ vulgo (Bl³). || 465 ἡδίων εἶχον **S** (Bl¹), cp.
Prooem 23 τῷ τὰ βέλτιστα ἔχοντι (*sic* for εἰπόντι) πλεῖον (*l.* ἡδίων)
εἶχε: ἡδίων' εἶχον Bl³, ἡδέως ἔχειν being usually found elsewhere
with τινί or (9 § 63) πρὸς τινα; the Dat. is, however, unexpressed
in Isoer 15 § 303 ἡδίων ἔχετε, δι' οὗς ἀκούετε καλῶς ἢ δι' οὗς ἐπαι-
νεῖσθε: ἡδίων εἶπον vulgo (Weil), but we should expect the
Impf. ἡδίων ἂν ἔλεγον. || 466 [οὖσι] ? Bl², cp. 21 § 30 ἐπ' ἀδήλοις
τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν. || 468 αἰροῦμαι: ἡρῆμαι preferred by Weil. || 469
πᾶσιν ἡμῖν Bl²³: πᾶσιν ὑμῖν vulgo: πᾶσιν **S**¹ alone (Voemel,
Bl¹; πᾶσι Weil), 'sic nude positum valde displicet neque satis
intellegitur. sane πᾶσιν ὑμῖν etiam peius; itaque πᾶσιν ἡμῖν
scribendum puto, ut se ipsum orator includat; neque enim
aliam rationem video, cur omnino πᾶσιν adsit' (Bl).

ΟΛΤΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Α

p. 9 Ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἂν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἐλέσθαι νομίζω, εἰ φανερόν γένοιτο τὸ μέλλον συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει περὶ ᾧ νυνὶ σκοπεῖτε. ὅτε τοίνυν τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, προσήκει προθύμως ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν τῶν βουλομένων συμβουλεύειν. 5 οὐ γὰρ μόνον, εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἐσκεμμένος ἦκει τις, τοῦτ' ἂν ἀκούσαντες λάβοιτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας τύχης ὑπολαμβάνω πολλὰ τῶν δεόντων ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμ' ἐνίοις ἐπελθεῖν ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὥστ' ἐξ ἀπάντων ῥαδίαν τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῖν 10 αἵρεσιν γενέσθαι.

2 Ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρὸς ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφιεῖς, ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμῖν ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς ἀντιληπτέον ἐστίν,

§ 1 l. 3 συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει MSS (Weil, Bl³): συνοίσειν Prooem 3, Hermog iii 435 τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον, Rufus iii 451 συγκρίνει γὰρ συμφέρον καὶ χρήματα, schol YVS (Bl¹), cp. 20 § 1 συμφέρειν [τῇ πόλει]. || 7 (τῆς ὑμετέρας — ὑπολαμβάνω) . . ἐπέλθοι ἂν Richter in *Neue Jahrbücher f. Phil.* 1888; but this kind of parenthesis is unlike Demosthenes, and only weakens the force of the passage.

15 εἴπερ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν φροντίζετε· ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὄντινά μοι δοκοῦμεν ἔχειν τρόπον πρὸς αὐτά. ἔστι δὴ τά γ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα, ψηφίσασθαι μὲν ἤδη τὴν βοήθειαν, καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι τὴν ταχίστην ὅπως ἐνθένδε βοηθήσετε καὶ μὴ πάθῃτε
 20 ταῦτόν ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον, πρεσβεῖαν δὲ πέμπειν, ἣτις ταῦτ' ἐρεῖ καὶ παρέσται τοῖς πράγμασιν· p. 10 ὡς ἔστι μάλιστα τοῦτο δέος, μὴ πανοῦργος ὢν 3 καὶ δεινὸς ἄνθρωπος πράγμασιν χρῆσθαι, τὰ μὲν εἰκων, ἡνίκ' ἂν τύχῃ, τὰ δ' ἀπειλῶν (ἀξιόπιστος 25 δ' ἂν εἰκότως φαίνοιτο), τὰ δ' ἡμᾶς. διαβάλλων καὶ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, [τρέψῃται καὶ] παρασπάσῃται τι τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων. οὐ 4 μὴν ἄλλ' ἐπιεικῶς ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦθ', ὁ δυσμαχώτατόν ἐστι τῶν Φιλίππου πραγμάτων, 30 καὶ βέλτιστον ὑμῖν· τὸ γὰρ εἶναι πάντων ἐκείνουν ἐν' ὄντα κύριον καὶ ῥητῶν κάπορρητῶν, καὶ ἅμα

§ 2 l. 15 αὐτῶν S and most mss, also the schol and Hermog iii 410 (εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπολείται τὰ πράγματα): αὐτῶν B. || 19 ταχίστην, Bl. || βοηθήσετε only Pal 2 (Bekker, Sauppe, Dind, Weil, Bl³): βοηθήσῃτε all the other mss ('coniunctivus de mero consilio' Voemel; Bl¹). || (καὶ μὴ πάθῃτε—πρότερον) Bl³.

§ 3 l. 24 ἀξιόπιστα? Dobree. || 26 [τρέψῃται καὶ] Bl¹; but Bl² retains καὶ on rhythmical grounds. τρέψῃται is probably due to a marginal explanation of παρασπάσῃται (e.g. παρατρέψῃται). παρασπάσῃται is explained in the scholia, but not τρέψῃται. The former alone is found in Ulpian *Proleg.* p. 9, 5 Dind; Aristeid i 645 Dind ὅταν τι παρασπάσασθαι βούλωνται; Liban iv 246 (of Philip) εἰ γὰρ καὶ νῦν συκοφαντῶν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ὀλίγα παρεσπάτο, ib i 647. The following corrections have been proposed; τρέψῃ τε *converlat* H Wolf (Dind), ἀνατρέψῃται Reiske, ἀνατρέψῃ τε Dobree (cp. [25] § 28 τὰ κοινὰ δίκαι' ἀνατρέψειν), κλέψῃ τε Holzinger and Cobet, εὐτρεπίσῃται Bake (Rosenberg, 4 § 16, 18 §§ 32, 175), στρέψῃ τε Gennadius. σφετερίσῃται? as in [7] § 41 τὴν χώραν σφετερίζεται (Philip), 18 § 71 Εὐβοίαν σφετεριζόμενος (Philip), ib § 99; 32 § 2; Xen *Hell.* v 1, 36. καταστρέψῃται Schwarz. || 27 πραγμάτων? Bl¹, retained by Bl²³.

στρατηγὸν καὶ δεσπότην καὶ ταμίαν, καὶ παντα-
 χοῦ αὐτὸν παρεῖναι τῷ στρατεύματι, πρὸς μὲν
 τὸ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ταχὺ καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν πράττε-
 σθαι πολλῷ προέχει, πρὸς δὲ τὰς καταλλαγὰς, αἵ 35
 ἂν ἐκεῖνος ποιήσαιτ' ἄσμενος πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους,
 5 ἐναντίως ἔχει. δῆλον γάρ ἐστι τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις
 ὅτι νῦν οὐ περὶ δόξης οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μέρους χώρας
 κινδυνεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνδρα-
 ποδισμοῦ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ ἴσασιν ἅ τ' Ἀμφι- 40
 πολιτῶν ἐποίησε τοὺς παραδόντας αὐτῷ τὴν
 πόλιν, καὶ Πυδναίων τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους· καὶ
 ὅλως ἄπιστον οἶμαι ταῖς πολιτείαις ἢ τυραννίς,
 6 ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁμορον χώραν ἔχωσι. ταῦτ' οὖν
 ἐγνωκότας ὑμᾶς ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τᾶλλ' 45
 ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἐνθυμουμένους, φημὶ δεῖν ἐθε-
 λῆσαι, καὶ παροξυνθῆναι, καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ προσ-
 ἔχειν εἴπερ ποτὲ καὶ νῦν, χρήματ' εἰσφέροντας
 προθύμως, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξιόντας, καὶ μηδὲν ἐλλεί-
 ποντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ λόγος οὐδὲ σκῆψις ἔθ' ὑμῖν 50

§ 4 l. 32 πανταχοῦ om Rosenberg. || 33 [αὐτὸν] Bl¹, to avoid hiatus; retained by Bl³; αὐτὸν πανταχοῦ Benseler. || [τῷ στρατεύματι] Bl¹, cp. 2 § 23 παρὼν ἐφ' ἅπασι: retained by Bl³. || 35 προέχει Weil. || 36 ποιήσαιτο Dresd and margins of S and F, also Hermog iii 285, Anon viii 640: ποιήσεται S and vulgo.

§ 5 l. 39 κινδυνεύουσιν Max Planud v 471 (approved by Weil), found with ὑπέρ [11] § 9, περί 8 § 34, 9 § 4, 41 § 29, and twice in 29 § 16: κίνδυνος Bl¹, cp. Minuc ix 602, Liban iv 353, 468, with Art. in all three passages: ἔστ' αὐτοῖς Bl², cp. 24 § 5 περί αὐτοῦ τούτου νῦν ὑμῖν ἐστι, πότερον . ., Lys 12 § 74 οὐ περί πολιτείας νῦν ἐσται, ἀλλὰ περί σωτηρίας, and Aristoph *Eq.* 87: πολεμοῦσιν mss (Rosenberg, Bl³), 'ne ad sensum quidem aptum esse recte Weilius monet, cum ex ipsa pace haec timenda esse orator doceat' Bl¹.

§ 6 l. 50 ἔτι mss (ἐθ' Weil, Rosenberg, Bl³), cp. 21 § 84, 57 § 15: ἔτι om Bl¹, cp. 20 § 135, 24 § 69, 54 § 27, Isidor Pelus v 508 οὔτε λόγος οὔτε σκῆψις ὑπολείπεται τοῖς κτλ.

τοῦ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν ὑπολείπεται.
 νυνὶ γάρ, ὃ πάντες ἐθρύλουν τέως, Ὀλυνθίους 7
 ἐκπολεμῶσαι δεῖν Φιλίππῳ, γέγον' αὐτόματον, p. 11
 καὶ ταῦθ' ὡς ἂν ὑμῖν μάλιστα συμφέροι. εἰ μὲν
 55 γὰρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν πεισθέντες ἀνείλουντο τὸν πόλε-
 μον, σφαλεροὶ σύμμαχοι καὶ μέχρι του ταῦτ' ἂν
 ἐγνωκότες ἦσαν ἴσως· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ τῶν πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς ἐγκλημάτων μισοῦσι, βεβαίαν εἰκὸς τὴν
 ἔχθραν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν φοβοῦνται καὶ πεπόν-
 60 θασιν ἔχειν. οὐ δεῖ δὴ τοιοῦτον ὦ ἄνδρες 8
 Ἀθηναῖοι παραπεπτωκότα καιρὸν ἀφεῖναι, οὐδὲ
 παθεῖν ταῦτὸν ὅπερ ἤδη πολλάκις πρότερον
 πεπόνθατε. εἰ γάρ, ὅθ' ἤκομεν Εὐβοεῦσιν βε-
 βοηθηκότες, καὶ παρήσαν Ἀμφιπολιτῶν Ἱέραξ
 65 καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ἐπὶ τουτὶ τὸ βῆμα, κελεύοντες
 ἡμᾶς πλεῖν καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τὴν πόλιν, τὴν
 αὐτὴν παρειχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν

§ 7 l. 52 ἐθρύλουν τέως (ἐθρύλλουν τέως Pal 2, ἐθρύλλουντε margins of **S** and **B**) Reiske, GHSchaefer, Bekker, Cobet, Weil, Bl; the third person is also supported by the schol: ἐθρυλεῖτε ὡς **S F Y** (Bekker, Voemel); ἐθρυλεῖτε τέως Sauppe. || 53 ἐκπολεμῶσαι vulgo here and in 3 § 7 (Sauppe, Cobet, Weil): ἐκπολεμῆσαι **S**¹ (altered into -ῶσαι) here and in 3 § 7 (Dind, Voemel, Bl). Harp. s.v. ἐκπολεμῶσαι· Δημ. Φιλιππικοῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς πόλεμον καταστήσαι, ὡς παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ πολλάκις. ἐν μέντοι τοῖς Ἀττικιστοῖς (mss of Dem copied by the scribes of Atticus) διὰ τοῦ Η γράφεται, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι in 5' Ἑλληνικῶν (v 4, 20). || δεῖν **S B** (Voemel, even after ὡς): δεῖ **Y** (Bekker). || Φιλίππῳ suspected by Bl (3 § 7, Ulpian p. 6, 2 Dind, schol p. 46, 21). || 56 [καὶ] Bl², 'ut praedicati loco sit σφαλεροὶ σύμμαχοι, subiecto appositum μέχρι του ταῦτ' ἐγνωκότες, sicut πεισθέντες in proximo priore.' || ταῦτ' Reiske.

§ 8 l. 62 ταῦτὸν vulgo (Weil); ταῦτὸ **S** and most mss here, but ταῦτον in § 2: ταῦθ' Bl. || πρότερον om Aug. 2, suspected by Bl. || 64 παρήσαν mss (Weil, Bl): παρήσαν Dobree, Voemel, Cobet, Dind.

προθυμίαν ἤνπερ ὑπὲρ τῆς Εὐβοέων σωτηρίας,
 εἵχετ' ἂν Ἀμφίπολιν τότε καὶ πάντων τῶν μετὰ
 9 ταύτ' ἂν ἦτ' ἀπηλλαγμένοι πραγμάτων. καὶ 70
 πάλιν ἡνίκα Πύδνα Ποτείδαia Μεθώνη Παγασαί,
 τᾶλλ', ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγων διατρίβω,
 πολιορκούμεν' ἀπηγγέλλετο, εἰ τότε τούτων ἐνὶ
 τῷ πρώτῳ προθύμως καὶ ὡς προσήκ' ἐβοηθή-
 σαμεν αὐτοί, ῥάονι καὶ πολὺ ταπεινοτέρῳ νῦν ἂν 75
 ἐχρώμεθα τῷ Φιλίππῳ. νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν παρὸν
 αἰεὶ προϊέμενοι, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντ' αὐτόματ' οἰόμενοι
 σχήσειν καλῶς, ἠϋξήσαμεν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
 Φίλιππον ἡμεῖς καὶ κατεστήσαμεν τηλικούτον,
 ἡλίκος οὐδεὶς πω βασιλεὺς γέγονεν Μακεδονίας. 80
 νυνὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἤκει τις, οὗτος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων,
 αὐτόματος τῇ πόλει, ὃς οὐδενός ἐστιν ἐλάττων
 10 τῶν προτέρων ἐκείνων. καὶ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τις ἂν
 p. 12 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δίκαιος λογιστῆς τῶν παρὰ
 τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν ὑπηργμένων καταστάς, καίπερ 85
 οὐκ ἐχόντων ὥς δεῖ πολλῶν, ὅμως μεγάλην ἂν
 ἔχειν αὐτοῖς χάριν εἰκότως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πόλλ'
 ἀπολωλεκέναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμετέρας
 ἀμελείας ἂν τις θεῖη δικαίως, τὸ δὲ μήτε πάλαι
 τοῦτο πεπουνθέναι, πεφνηέναι τέ τιν' ἡμῖν συμ- 90
 μαχίαν τούτων ἀντίρροπον, ἂν βουλώμεθα
 χρῆσθαι, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων εὐνοίας εὐεργέτημ'

§ 9 l. 81 νυνὶ δὲ **B** (Voemel, Weil, Bl¹); νῦν ἤδη **S** alone (Saurie); νυνὶ δὲ vulgo; νῦν δὲ δὴ two inferior mss; νυνὶ δὲ δὴ GHSchaefer (Dind, Bl³). || [ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων] Dobree, Herwerden, Weil.

§ 10 l. 85 ὑπηργμένων margins of **S** and **B** (Weil, Bl): ὑπηρετημένων **S**¹ **B**¹ **F** (Voemel, Rosenberg). || 86 ἔδει preferred by Bl, as in Prooem 15. || 92 εὐεργέτημ' suspected by Herwerden.

ἂν ἔγωγε θείην. ἀλλ' οἶμαι παρόμοιόν ἐστιν 11
 ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων κτήσεως· ἂν
 95 μὲν γάρ, ὅσ' ἂν τις λάβῃ, καὶ σῶσῃ, μεγάλην
 ἔχει τῇ τύχῃ τὴν χάριν, ἂν δ' ἀναλώσας λάθῃ,
 συνανήλωσε καὶ τὸ μεμνήσθαι τὴν χάριν. καὶ
 περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως οἱ μὴ χρησάμενοι
 τοῖς καιροῖς ὀρθῶς, οὐδ' εἰ συνέβῃ τι παρὰ
 100 τῶν θεῶν χρηστὸν μνημονεύουσι· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ
 τελευταῖον ἐκβὰν ἕκαστον τῶν προὔπαρξάντων
 κρίνεται. διὸ καὶ σφόδρα δεῖ τῶν λοιπῶν
 ὑμᾶς ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι φροντίσαι, ἵνα ταύτ'
 ἐπανορθωσάμενοι, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
 105 ἀδοξίαν ἀποτριψώμεθα. εἰ δὲ προησόμεθ' ὦ 12
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,

§ 11 l. 94 ὅπερ MSS (=τούτῳ ὅπερ γίγνεται, cp. 6 § 36, Voemel, Weil, Rosenberg); omitted in Aldine ed. and in Paris MS of schol to Hermog iv 758, 'additum est ab eo qui particulae καὶ vim non perspicieret' (Bl¹³); παρόμοιόν ἐστιν καὶ (Bl¹³); παρ. ἐ. <οἶον> Bl², cp. Ioann Chrysost i 88, 28 νῦν δὲ παρόμοιον γέγονεν οἶον ἐπὶ κτλ. : ὥσπερ Dobree (Cobet). || 97 καὶ τὸ μεμνήσθαι τὴν χάριν **S B** (Voemel, Weil); [καὶ τὸ μεμνήσθαι] Bl, omitted in a Paris MS of *Rhet. Gr.* viii 640, probably due to μνημονεύουσι below; καὶ τὸ μ. τη τύχῃ τὴν χάριν vulgo, Hermog iii 285, Tiber viii 556, Anon viii 640; [τῇ τύχῃ τὴν χάριν] Cobet, Tournier, Rosenberg. || 98 οὕτως suspected by Bl², 3 § 13 καὶ νῦν, 4 § 41 καὶ ὑμεῖς, 9 § 70 καὶ ἡμεῖς (without οὕτως). || 99 [παρὰ τῶν θεῶν] Bl, to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪, introduced here from l. 84; the form in which it is quoted by schol to Hermog iv 758 τι χρηστὸν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν avoids ∪ ∪ ∪, but the codex Ven of schol quotes it as in the text. || 101 προὔπαρξάντων vulgo, Anon viii 640, vii^a 365: πρὶν ὑπαρξάντων **S** etc, and Niceph Gregor xii c. 5 (Voemel, Weil, Bl); ὑπαρξάντων **Y** (Sauppe). The adverbial use of πρὶν is not found in Demosthenes, though it occurs [7] § 5 πρὶν ὑπεσχημένων, in a speech generally attributed to Hegesippus (Karlowa *Progr.* 1883). || 102 ὥς τὰ πολλὰ (before κρίνεται) vulgo and Isidor Pelus v 319: om **S**¹ **B**¹ (Dind, Voemel, Cobet, Weil, Bl). || 104 πεπραγμένοις: πρότερον Rosenberg.

- εἶτ' Ὀλυνθον ἐκείνος καταστρέφεται, φρασάτω
 τις ἔμοι τί τὸ κωλύον ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἔσται βαδίζειν
 ὅποι βούλεται. ἄρα λογίζεται τις ὑμῶν ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν τρόπον, δι' ὃν μέγας 110
 γέγονεν, ἀσθενὴς ὢν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος ;
 τὸ πρῶτον Ἀμφίπολιν λαβὼν, μετὰ ταῦτα
 Πύδναν, πάλιν Ποτεídaian, Μεθώνην αὖθις,
 13 εἶτα Θετταλίας ἐπέβη· μετὰ ταῦτα Φερὰς Πα-
 γασὰς Μαγνησίαν πάνθ' ὃν ἐβούλετ' εὐτρεπίσας 115
 p. 13 τρόπον, ὥχετ' εἰς Θράκην· εἶτ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν
 ἐκβαλὼν τοὺς δὲ καταστήσας τῶν βασιλέων
 ἡσθένησε· πάλιν ῥάσας οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ ῥαθυμεῖν
 ἀπέκλινεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐπεχείρησεν.
 τὰς δ' ἐπ' Ἴλλυριοὺς καὶ Παίονας αὐτοῦ καὶ 120
 πρὸς Ἀρύββαν καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν εἴποι παραλείπω
 στρατείας.
- 14 “Τί οὖν,” ἂν τις εἴποι, “ταῦτα λέγεις ἡμῖν
 νῦν;” ἵνα γινῶτ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ αἴσθησθ'
 ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὸ προὔεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον αἰεί τι 125
 τῶνπραγμάτων ὡς ἀλυσιτελές, καὶ τὴν φιλο-
 πραγμοσύνην ἣ χρήται καὶ συζῇ Φίλιππος, ὑφ'
 ἧς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀγαπήσας τοῖς πεπραγμένοις

§ 13 l. 118 ῥάσας Herwerden (Bl) : ῥαῖσας mss (Weil). || 121 ἀρύββαν S¹ B¹; **APYBBAC** occurs six times in *Corpus Inscr. Att.* ii 115, and the same form in Paus i 11, 1, and (with variant Ἀρύβας) twice in Plut *Pyrrh.* 1 § 5: ἀρύμβαν vulgo and Diodor 16, 72.

§ 14 l. 123 ἂν τις εἴποι vulgo, as in § 20, 23 § 187, and end of Prooem 35 (Weil, Bl); εἴποι τις ἂν Baron: τις ἂν εἴποι **S B Y O** (Sauppe, Voemel), ‘soloecum et plane supervacaneum,’ Cobet; ‘e proximis repetitum (§ 13 l. 121)’ Bl. || 125 [τι] Bl² ‘et propter sensum et propter numeros’; αἰεί τι is found in l. 129 and 4 §§ 9, 42. || 127 χρήται **S A B Y**: πρὸς ἅπαντας χρήται vulgo, as in [10] § 2, 21 § 1.

ἡσυχίαν σχήσει. εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν ὥς αἰεί τι μείζον
 130 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δεῖ πράττειν ἐγνωκῶς ἔσται,
 ἡμεῖς δ' ὥς οὐδενὸς ἀντιληπτέον ἐρρωμένως τῶν
 πραγμάτων, σκοπεῖσθ' εἰς τί ποτ' ἐλπίς ταῦτα
 τελευτῆσαι. πρὸς θεῶν, τίς οὕτως εὐήθης ὑμῶν, 15
 ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ τὸν ἐκείθεν πόλεμον δεῦρ' ἥξοντ',
 135 ἐὰν ἀμελήσωμεν; ἀλλὰ μὴν, εἰ τοῦτο γενήσεται,
 δέδοικ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον,
 ὥσπερ οἱ δανειζόμενοι ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις
 [τόκοις], μικρὸν εὐπορήσαντες χρόνον, ὕστερον καὶ
 τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀπέστησαν, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ
 140 πολλῷ φανῶμεν ἐρραθυμηκότες, καὶ ἅπαντα πρὸς
 ἡδονὴν ζητοῦντες πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ὦν οὐκ
 ἡβουλόμεθ' ὕστερον εἰς ἀνάγκην ἔλθωμεν ποιεῖν,
 καὶ κινδυνεύσωμεν περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἴσως φῆσαι τις ἂν 16

§ 15 l. 133 εὐήθης Stobaeus 30 § 14 (Bl): ἐστὶν εὐ. **A Y**, or εὐ. ἐστὶν **S** etc (Weil). || 137 ῥαδίως, Bl, West⁹. || 138 τόκοις om Priscian xviii 295, [τόκοις] LSpengel, Varron p. 643, and Bl (Rosenberg); otherwise we should have expected ἐπὶ μεγάλοις τοῖς τόκοις: ἐπὶ τόκοις μεγάλοις Weil, τοῖς being wrongly inserted instead of τόκοις and then wrongly corrected by the addition of the latter word. || 139 [καὶ ἡμεῖς ἂν] Bl; καὶ ἡμεῖς Dobree, Cobet, Dind, Weil: + ἂν mss; οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἂν ἐπὶ πολλῷ φανῶμεν — ζητοῦντες Rosenberg. || 141 [καὶ χαλεπὰ] Cobet: καὶ χαλεπώτερ' ὦν? Weil. || ὦν οὐκ ἡβ. mss (Voemel); ὦν οὐκ ἐβ. Dind, Weil, Bl³; ὦν ἐβ. Stobaeus 30 § 14 (= ὕστερον τούτων ἂ ἐβ., οὐκ interpolated perhaps from 9 § 75 δέδοιχ' ὅπως μὴ πάνθ' ἄμ', ὅσ' οὐ βουλόμεθα, ποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γένηται); ὦν ἡβ. Bl¹; ὦν οὐ βουλόμεθα Bl². || 143 [καὶ κινδ. — χώρᾳ]? Dobree.

§ 16 l. 144 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιτιμᾶν ῥάδιον ἂν καὶ παντὸς εἴη—ἐστὶν συμβούλου suggested by Bl¹ (ἴσως φῆσαι τις ἂν being omitted by Isidor *Ep.* iv 70 and possibly interpolated from 2 § 5). || φῆσαι vulgo; φῆσαι **S**¹ corrected into φῆσαι: φῆσειε corr Pal 3 (West⁹); φαίη (probably the right reading) quoted by Pollux 9 § 139.

ῥάδιον καὶ παντὸς εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόν- 145
των ὅ τι δεῖ πράττειν ἀποφαίνεσθαι, τοῦτ' εἶναι
συμβούλου. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες
'Αθηναῖοι τοῦθ' ὅτι πολλάκις ὑμεῖς οὐ τοὺς

p. 14 αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑστάτους περὶ τῶν πραγ-
μάτων εἰπόντας, ἐν ὀργῇ ποιείσθ', ἅν τι μὴ 150
κατὰ γνώμην ἐκβῇ· οὐ μὴν οἶμαι δεῖν, τὴν ἰδίαν
ἀσφάλειαν σκοπῶν, ὑποστείλασθαι περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν

17 συμφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι. φημὶ δὴ διχῇ βοηθητέον
εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὑμῖν, τῷ τε τὰς πόλεις τοῖς
'Ολυνθίοις σφάζειν καὶ τοὺς τοῦτο ποιήσοντας 155
στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ τῷ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν
κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τριήρεσιν καὶ στρατιώταις
ἐτέροις· εἰ δὲ θατέρου τούτων ὀλιγορήσετε, ὀκνῶ

18 μὴ μάταιος ἡμῖν ἡ στρατεία γένηται. εἴτε γάρ,
ὑμῶν τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιούντων, ὑπομείνας 160
τοῦτ', 'Ολυνθον παραστήσεται, ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τὴν
οἰκείαν ἐλθὼν ἀμυνεῖται· εἴτε, βοηθησάντων
μόνον ὑμῶν εἰς 'Ολυνθον, ἀκινδύνως ὁρῶν ἔχοντα
τὰ οἴκοι, προσκαθεδεῖται καὶ προσεδρεύσει τοῖς
πράγμασι, περιέσται τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν πολιορκου- 165
μένων. δεῖ δὴ πολλὴν καὶ διχῇ τὴν βοήθειαν
εἶναι.

19 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς βοηθείας ταῦτα γιγνώσκω·
περὶ δὲ χρημάτων πόρου, ἔστιν ὧ ἄνδρες 'Αθη-

1. 150 ἅν MSS: εἰάν Bl¹. || 152 σκοπῶν Bl²: σκοποῦνθ' MSS (Weil, Bl³); σκοποῦντα, Bl¹.

§ 17 l. 159 γένηται omitted in heading of Bekk *Anecd.* p. 285, 5 (Bl²).

§ 18 l. 160 ὑμῶν <μόνον> Cobet. || 164 [καὶ προσεδρεύσει] Cobet; [τοῖς πράγμασι] Bl³; προσκαθ. — πράγμασι quoted in Bekk *Anecd.* p. 161, 12.

170 ναῖοι χρήμαθ' ὑμῖν, ἔστιν ὅσ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἀνθρώπων [στρατιωτικά]· ταῦτα δ' ὑμεῖς οὕτως
 ὡς βούλεσθε λαμβάνετε. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς
 στρατευομένοις ἀποδώσετε, οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν προσδεῖ
 πόρου, εἰ δὲ μή, προσδεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπαντος ἐνδεῖ
 175 τοῦ πόρου. “τί οὖν;” ἂν τις εἴποι, “σὺ γράφεις
 ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά;” μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε.
 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι στρατιώτας δεῖν κατα- 20
 σκευασθῆναι, [καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά,] καὶ
 μίαν σύνταξιν εἶναι, τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ τε λαμβάνειν
 180 καὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα· ὑμεῖς δ' οὕτω πως
 ἄνευ πραγμάτων λαμβάνειν εἰς τὰς ἐορτάς. ἔστι p. 15
 δὴ λοιπὸν οἶμαι πάντας εἰσφέρειν, ἂν πολλῶν
 δέῃ, πολλά, ἂν ὀλίγων, ὀλίγα. δεῖ δὲ χρημά-
 των, καὶ ἄνευ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστι γενέσθαι τῶν
 185 δεόντων. λέγουσιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἄλλοι
 πόρους, ὧν ἔλεσθ' ὅστις ὑμῖν συμφέρειν δοκεῖ· καὶ
 ἕως ἐστὶ καιρός, ἀντιλάβεσθε τῶν πραγμάτων.

§ 19 l. 170 οὐδενὶ mss, cp. 18 § 23 πρὸς οὐδένα . . τῶν Ἑλλήνων : οὐδέσι Dind, 2 § 17, 5 § 5. || 171 [ἀνθρώπων] Bl¹. || [στρατιωτικά] Madvig, Cobet (Weil, Rosenberg). See Note. || 175 [ἂν τις εἴποι] Cobet; see however § 14, and Prooem 35 τί οὖν ἂν τίς εἴποι σὺ παραινείς; || γράφεις; Bl¹.

§ 20 l. 178 καὶ [ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά, καὶ] Dobree, Dind; ‘scribae alias res agentis oculi aberrarunt ad ea quae proxime praecedunt: τί οὖν;—ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά; deinde oblitus est male repetita delere’ (Cobet). ταῦτ' εἶναι στρ. mss (Bl³ and Rosenberg in Westermann⁹): εἶναι στρ. Bekker (Voemel, Weil); εἶναι ταῦτα στρ. ‘nam hic quidem in εἶναι omne momentum’ Bl¹ (it is not here, however (as stated by Bl), but at the end of § 19 l. 176 that Aug 2 has this reading). || 181 λαμβάνειν **SFB**¹ (Voemel, Weil, Bl¹³): λαμβάνετε **A Y** (Dind), ‘praestat λαμβάνετε, et quia modo praecessit λαμβάνειν et propter numeros,’ Bl²; ταῦτα λαμβάνετε vulgo. || 186 συμφέρειν δοκεῖ **S B Y**: ἂν σ. δοκῇ vulgo. || 187 ἕως mss and Bekk *Anecd.* p. 119, 2 (Weil, Bl²³): τέως Bl¹.

- 21 "Αξιον δ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ λογίσασθαι τὰ πράγματ' ἐν ᾧ καθέστηκεν νυνὶ τὰ Φιλίππου. οὔτε γάρ, ὥς δοκεῖ καὶ φήσειέ τις ἂν μὴ σκοπῶν 190 ἀκριβῶς, εὐτρεπῶς οὐδ' ὥς ἂν κάλλιστ' αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντ' ἔχει, οὔτ' ἂν ἐξήνεγκε τὸν πόλεμόν ποτε τοῦτον ἐκεῖνος, εἰ πολεμεῖν ᾧθήη δεήσειν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπιὼν ἅπαντα τότε ἤλπιζεν τὰ πράγματ' ἀναιρήσεσθαι, κἄτα διέψευσται. τοῦτο δὲ πρῶ- 195 τον αὐτὸν ταραττει παρὰ γνώμην γεγονὸς καὶ πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν αὐτῷ παρέχει, εἴτα τὰ τῶν
- 22 Θετταλῶν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἄπιστα μὲν ἦν δήπου φύσει καὶ ἀεὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, κομιδῇ δ', ὥσπερ ἦν, καὶ ἔστι νῦν τούτῳ. καὶ γὰρ Παγασὰς ἀπ- 200 αιτεῖν αὐτὸν εἰσιν ἐψηφισμένοι, καὶ Μαγνησίαν κεκωλύκασι τειχίζειν. ἤκουον δ' ἔγωγέ τινων, ὥς οὐδὲ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἔτι δώσοιεν αὐτῷ καρποῦσθαι· τὰ γὰρ κοινὰ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀπὸ τούτων δέοι διοικεῖν, οὐ Φίλιππον λαμ- 205 βάνειν. εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀποστερήσεται τῶν χρημάτων, εἰς στενὸν κομιδῇ τὰ τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς

§ 21 l. 191 εὐτρεπῶς **S B**, 4 § 18: εὐπρεπῶς vulgo. || 195 ἀναιρήσεσθαι MSS: ἀναρτήσεσθαι Badham; ἀναρπάσεσθαι? Bl, '9 § 47 etc; Herod viii 28, ix 59; Liban iv 338, 24; 776, 26.'

§ 22 l. 198 ἄπιστα γὰρ δήπου ταῦτα καὶ ἀεὶ π. ἀ., κομιδῇ δ' ἔστι νῦν τούτῳ suggested by Bl, cp. schol Eur *Phoen.* 1408 εἰσὶ (i.e. εἴτα) τὰ τῶν Θ. ἄπιστα δήπου φύσει ταῦτα καὶ ἀεὶ π. ἀ.; schol p. 64, 11 τὸ κομιδῇ αὐξήσις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Φιλίππου ('igitur Philippo non sicut ceteris evenit, sed etiam magis quam ceteris' Bl). || 199 ἀεὶ καὶ Dobree. || [, ὥσπερ ἦν, καὶ] Bl³. || 206 ἀποστερήσεται **Y** (Cobet, Bl¹³, cp. *Rheinisches Museum* 47, 282): ἀποστερηθῆσεται **S B** etc (Voemel, Dind, Weil); ἀν . . ἀποστερηθῇ vulgo: στερήσεται ('verum sine dubio' Bl²) Marcelinus iv 754 τῶν προσόδων ἐστέρηται καὶ στερήσεται, Aristeid i 580 εἰ δὲ στερησόμεθα . . τῶν συμμαχῶν καὶ τῶν προσόδων. || χρημάτων: προσόδων? Bl.

ξένοις αὐτῷ καταστήσεται. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν γε 23
 Παίονα καὶ τὸν Ἰλλυριὸν καὶ ἀπλῶς τούτους
 210 ἅπαντας ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ αὐτονόμους ἥδιον ἂν καὶ
 ἐλευθέρους ἢ δούλους εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἀήθεις τοῦ
 κατακούειν τινός εἰσι, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὑβριστής,
 ὥς φασιν. καὶ μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν ἄπιστον ἴσως· τὸ p. 16
 γὰρ εὖ πράττειν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀφορμὴ τοῦ
 215 κακῶς φρονεῖν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις γίγνεται, διόπερ
 πολλὰκις δοκεῖ τὸ φυλάξαι τὰγαθὰ τοῦ κτή-
 σασθαι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι. δεῖ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς ὦ 24
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἀκαιρίαν τὴν ἐκείνου καιρὸν
 ὑμέτερον νομίσαντας, ἐτοίμως συνάρασθαι τὰ
 220 πρᾶγματα, καὶ πρεσβευομένους ἐφ' ἃ δεῖ, καὶ
 στρατευομένους αὐτούς, καὶ παροξύνοντας τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἅπαντας, λογιζομένους, εἰ Φίλιππος λάβοι
 καθ' ἡμῶν τοιοῦτον καιρὸν, καὶ πόλεμος γένοιτο
 πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ, πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν οἴεσθ' ἐτοίμως ἐφ'
 225 ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν; εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθ', εἰ μὴδ' ἃ
 πάθοιτ' ἂν, εἰ δύναιτ' ἐκείνος, ταῦτα ποιῆσαι
 καιρὸν ἔχοντες οὐ τολμήσετε;

Ἔτι τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μὴδὲ τοῦθ' 25

§ 23 l. 211 τοῦ κατακούειν MSS (Weil, Bl³); τ. . ακούειν S¹
 (τιν' ἀκούειν? Bl): κατακούειν Bl, cp. Liban iv 363 ἀήθεις
 ὑπακούειν ἐτέρων. || 212 [εἰσι] Bl¹.

§ 24 l. 219 ὑμέτερον Y etc (Voemel, Weil, Bl): ἡμέτερον S
 F B¹ etc. || 223 [καιρὸν] and 224 [ἐτοίμως] Rosenberg. || 225 ὑμᾶς
 S B Y: ἡμᾶς vulgo (Voemel, Weil). || 227 οὐ MSS and Hermog
 iii 152, 155; confirmed by Aristeid i 595 θαυμάζω δ' εἰ παρα-
 στησόμενοι μὲν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπιστήσεσθε φείσασθαι, ἐξὸν δὲ
 καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἅμα καὶ τούτων φείσασθαι νῦν οὐ τολμήσετε:
 either [οὐ] as in 21 § 57, or 225 [μὴδ'] Cobet; 'si quid suppri-
 mendum, μὴδὲ supprimatur; cf. 26 extr.' (Bl): [οὐκ αἰσχ.,
 εἰ μὴδ'] Meutzner: ταῦτα ποιήσετε καιρὸν ἔχοντες αὐτοί;
 Rosenberg.

ὕμᾱς λανθανέτω, ὅτι νῦν αἵρεσίς ἐστιν ὑμῖν, πότερ' ὑμᾱς ἐκεῖ χρή πολεμεῖν ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν ²³⁰ ἐκείνουν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀντέχῃ τὰ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖ πολεμήσετε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιήσετε, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ταύτην ἀδεῶς καρπούμενοι· ἂν δ' ἐκείνα Φίλιππος λάβῃ,

26 τίς αὐτὸν κωλύσει δεῦρο βαδίζοντα; Θηβαῖοι; ²³⁵ μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ἦ, καὶ συνεισβαλοῦσιν ἐτοίμως. ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς; οἱ τὴν οἰκείαν οὐχ οἰοί τ' ὄντες φυλάττειν, ἂν μὴ βοηθήσῃθ' ὑμεῖς ἢ ἄλλος τις. ἀλλ', ὦταν, οὐχὶ βουλήσεται. τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων μέντ' αὖ εἴη, εἰ ἂ νῦν ἄνοιαν ²⁴⁰ ὀφλισκάνων ὅμως ἐκλαλεῖ, ταῦτα δυνηθεὶς μὴ

27 πράξει. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα γ' ἐστὶν τὰ διάφορ' ἐνθάδ' ἢ 'κεῖ πολεμεῖν, οὐδὲ λόγου προσδεῖν ἡγοῦμαι. εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾱς δεήσειεν αὐτοὺς τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας ἔξω γενέσθαι, καὶ ὅσ' ἀνάγκη στρατοπέδω ²⁴⁵

p. 17 χρωμένους τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνειν, μηδεὶν ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ πολέμου λέγω, πλείον' ἂν οἶμαι

§ 25 l. 229 ἐστὶν ὑμῖν Bl¹, Weil: ἐσθ' ὑμῖν Bl²³. || 235 βαδίζοντα *Rhet.* ii 679, iv 739, vii 604 (Bl): βαδίζειν mss, Liban i 430, 17; 'secus locus est infinitivo supra, § 12' Bl.

§ 26 l. 235 Θηβαῖοι. and 237 Φωκεῖς. Bl¹. || 236 μὴ mss: <οἱ, εἰ> μὴ Dind omitting ἦ. || ἦ mss (Weil, Bl²³), cp. *Rhet.* iv 739 (ἦ cod Ven) Choricus, (in φιλαργύρῳ) ἦ: ἦ omitted in *Rhet.* ii 679, iv 739 (text), vii 604, 941; [ἦ] Dind, and (with mark of interrogation) Bl¹. || 237 [ἐτοίμως] Bl¹, om *Rhet.* v 36, vii 941. || 238 ὄντες Bl²³; [ὄντες] Bl¹, om *Rhet.* iv 739. || 239 'ἢ ἄλλος τις vulgo (etiam Weil) per se efferunt, tanquam tertiam subiectionem (.ἢ ἄλλος τις); at coniungunt rhetores (item codex A), neque apta subiectionis particula ἢ [ubi ἄλλα requiritur]' Bl. || ὦταν S¹ (Weil, Bl³), cp. Voemel *Proleg.* § 14: ὦ τᾶν Bl¹.

§ 27 l. 247 πολέμου Pal 1 and 2, and other inferior mss, 'opponuntur εἰ δὲ πόλεμος τις ἦξει' Bl: πολέμου best mss and *Rhet.* iv 762 (cod Ven) (Weil, West⁹). || πλείον' ἂν

ζημιωθῆναι τοὺς γεωργοῦντας ὑμῶν, ἢ ὅς' εἰς
 ἅπαντα τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον δεδαπάνησθε. εἰ
 250 δὲ δὴ πόλεμός τις ἦξει, πόσα χρή νομίσαι ζημιώ-
 σεσθαι ; καὶ πρόσσεθ' ἢ ὕβρις καὶ ἔθ' ἢ τῶν
 πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη, οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάττων ζημίας τοῖς
 γε σώφροσιν.

Πάντα δὴ ταῦτα δεῖ συνιδόντας ἅπαντας 28
 255 βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἀπωθεῖν ἐκείσε τὸν πόλεμον, τοὺς
 μὲν εὐπόρους, ἵν' ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν ὧν καλῶς
 ποιοῦντες ἔχουσι, μίκρ' ἀναλίσκοντες τὰ λοιπ'
 ἀδεῶς καρπῶνται, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ
 πολεμεῖν ἐμπειρίαν ἐν τῇ Φιλίππου χώρα κτησά-
 260 μενοι, φοβεροὶ φύλακες τῆς οἰκείας ἀκεραίου
 γένωνται, τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἵν' αἱ τῶν πεπο-
 λιτευμένων αὐτοῖς εὐθυναὶ ῥάδια γένωνται, ὥς,
 ὅποῦ' ἄττ' ἂν ὑμᾶς περιστῇ τὰ πράγματα, τοιοῦ-
 τοι κριταὶ καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε.
 265 χρηστὰ δ' εἴη παντὸς εἵνεκα.

Bl (Weil), to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪ ; πλεῖον ἂν *Rhet.* l.c. (cod Ven) ;
 πλεόν ἂν MSS. || 249 χρόνον *Rhet.* l.c. (cod Ven), Bl : πόλεμον
 MSS (Weil), 'quod cum eis quae sequuntur male congruit' Bl.
 || 250 ζημιώσεσθαι **S** : -θήσεσθαι vulgo. || 252 ζημίας **S Y** (Weil),
 and Julian 287 c τὸ παθεῖν τε οἶμαι προσῆν καὶ ἔτι ἡ τῶν πρα-
 γμάτων αἰσχύνη οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάττων ζημίας τοῖς γε σώφροσιν : ζημία
B¹ O¹ et vulgo (Bl).

§ 28 l. 258 ἀδεῶς καρποῦνται **Y** and other MSS, also *Rhet.*
 iv 762 (Bl³), cp. Dio Cass lii p. 484 B ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀδεῶς
 καρποῦσθαι : καρποῦνται ἀδέως **S** etc (Voemel, Weil) ; [ἀδεῶς]
 Bl¹, to avoid hiatus. || 259 χώρα κτησάμενοι MSS (Weil, Bl¹) :
 κτησάμενοι χώρα *Rhet.* l.c. (Bl³). || 263 ὑμᾶς MSS : ὑμῖν Baron.

ΟΛΤΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Β

p. 18 Ἐπὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἂν τις ἰδεῖν ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι δοκεῖ μοι τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν
 φανεράν γιγνομένην τῇ πόλει, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἐν
 τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν· τὸ γὰρ τοὺς πολεμή-
 σοντας Φιλίππῳ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ χώραν ὅμορον ⁵
 καὶ δυνάμιν τινα κεκτημένους, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον
 ἀπάντων, τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην τοιαύ-
 την ἔχοντας, ὥστε τὰς πρὸς ἐκείνον διαλλαγὰς
 πρῶτον μὲν ἀπίστους, εἶτα τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος
 νομίζειν ἀνάστασιν, δαιμονία τινὲ καὶ θεία παν- ¹⁰
 2 τάπασιν ἔοικεν εὐεργεσίᾳ. δεῖ τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦτ' ἤδη σκοπεῖν αὐτοὺς, ὅπως μὴ
 χείρους περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι δόξομεν τῶν
 ὑπαρχόντων, ὥς ἔστι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ
 τῶν αἰσχίστων, μὴ μόνον πόλεων καὶ τόπων, ὧν ¹⁵
 ἡμὲν ποτε κύριοι, φαίνεσθαι προῖεμένους, ἀλλὰ

§ 2 l. 12 αὐτοὺς: 'vel delendum αὐτοὺς [ut 4 §§ 8, 50] vel [infra] legendum ἡμᾶς' Dobree; the former preferred by Bekker, the latter by Weil, Bl. || 13 δόξομεν Bekker, Weil, Bl¹, West⁹; 'h. l. ὅπως non de fine, ut quid fiat, sed de ratione usurpatur, qua quid futurum sit; itaque coniunctivus h. l. alienus est' (Voemel). Cp. § 12, 1 § 2, 3 § 1, 5 § 13, 8 § 46, 9 §§ 1, 51, 56, 59, 75: δόξωμεν MSS (Bl³).

καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης παρασκευασθέντων συμμάχων καὶ καιρῶν.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Φιλίππου 3
 20 ῥώμην διεξιέναι, καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν λόγων
 προτρέπειν τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐχὶ καλῶς
 ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι. διὰ τί; ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ πάνθ' ὅς'
 ἂν εἴποι τις ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔχειν φιλο-
 τιμίαν, ἡμῖν δ' οὐχὶ καλῶς πεπράχθαι. ὁ μὲν
 25 γὰρ ὅσῳ πλείον' ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν πεποίηκε τὴν
 αὐτοῦ, τοσούτῳ θαυμαστότερος παρὰ πᾶσιν
 νομίζεται· ὑμεῖς δ' ὅσῳ χεῖρον ἢ προσήκεν
 κέχρησθε τοῖς πράγμασι, τοσούτῳ πλείον' αἰσχύ-
 νην ὠφλήκατε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραλείψω. καὶ 4
 30 γὰρ εἰ μετ' ἀληθείας τις ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι p. 19
 σκοποῖτο, ἐνθένδ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἴδοι μέγαν γεγενη-
 μένον, οὐχὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ. ὧν οὖν ἐκεῖνος μὲν
 ὀφείλει τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπολιτευμένοις χάριν,
 ὑμῖν δὲ δίκην προσήκει λαβεῖν, οὐχὶ νῦν ὁρῶ τὸν
 35 καιρὸν τοῦ λέγειν· ἃ δὲ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἔνι,
 καὶ βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἀκηκοέναι πάντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ
 μεγάλ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι κατ' ἐκείνου φαίνοιτ'
 ἂν ὀνείδη βουλομένοις ὀρθῶς δοκιμάζειν, ταῦτ'
 εἰπεῖν πειράσομαι.

§ 3 l. 23 εἴποι **S** and vulgo (πάνθ' ὅς' ἂν εἴποι τις Aristeid i 830): εἶπη **O** (Dind). || [ὑπὲρ τούτων]? Dobree, a variant from § 4 l. 33. || φιλοτιμίαν **S**¹ (Weil, Bl): + τινά vulgo (τινα ἔχειν φ. **A Y**); cp. 23 § 64 ζῆλόν τινα καὶ τιμὴν φέρει τῇ πόλει ῥηθέντα, and Liban iv 671, 27. || 24 οὐχί, Voemel. || [καλῶς πεπράχθαι] Badham.

§ 4 l. 34 οὐχὶ νῦν **S**¹ (Weil, Bl¹): τούτων (or ὑπὲρ τούτων **F Y**) οὐχὶ νῦν other mss, and Hermog iii 151; τούτων οὐχὶ νῦν Dobree (Bl³). || τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ λέγειν mss (Bl³): [τὸν] κ. [τοῦ] λ. Bl¹, cp. Aristeid i 768 ὑπὲρ τοῦ . . οὐκέθ' ὁρῶ καιρὸν λέγειν.

- 5 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπίορκον κᾶπιστον καλεῖν, ἄνευ 40
 τοῦ τὰ πεπραγμένα δεικνύναι, λαιδορίαν εἶναι τις
 ἂν φήσειε κενὴν δικαίως· τὸ δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ'
 ἔπραξε διεξιόντ' ἐφ' ἅπασι τούτοις ἐλέγχειν, καὶ
 βραχέος λόγου συμβαίνει δεῖσθαι, καὶ δυοῖν
 ἔνεχ' ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν εἰρῆσθαι, τοῦ τ' ἐκείνου, 45
 ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθὲς ὑπάρχει, φαῦλον φαίνεσθαι, καὶ
 τοὺς ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους ὡς ἄμαχόν τινα τὸν
 Φίλιππον ἰδεῖν, ὅτι πάντα διεξελλήλυθεν οἷς
 πρότερον παρακρουόμενος μέγας ἠϋξήθη, καὶ
 πρὸς αὐτὴν ἤκει τὴν τελευτὴν τὰ πράγματ' αὐτῷ. 50
- 6 ἐγὼ γὰρ ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι σφόδρ' ἂν ἡγούμην
 καὐτὸς φοβερὸν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ θαυμαστόν, εἰ
 τὰ δίκαια πράττονθ' ἐώρων ἠϋξημένον· νῦν δὲ
 θεωρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν εὐρίσκω, τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν
 εὐήθειαν τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς, ὅτ' Ὀλυνθίους ἀπ- 55
 ἤλαυνόν τινες ἐνθένδε βουλομένους ὑμῖν διαλε-
 χθῆναι, τῷ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν φάσκειν παραδώσειν
 καὶ τὸ θρυλούμενόν ποτ' ἀπόρρητον ἐκείνο κατα-
 7 σκευάσαι, τούτῳ προσαγαγόμενον, τὴν δ' Ὀλυν-

§ 5 l. 41 [εἶναι]? Bl, *Rhet.* vii 71 τις ἂν φήσειεν εἶναι. || 43
 τούτοις MSS (Weil): τοιούτον a variant in B, cp. schol p. 81,
 15 (Bl). || 46 φαῦλον S (Weil, Bl²³): φλαῦρον Cobet (Bl¹);
 'nusquam est ap. Dem. φλαῦρος vel φλαῦρα vel denique aliud
 quam neutrum φλαῦρον sine substantivo' Bl. || καὶ τοὺς S: καὶ
 τοῦ τοὺς vulgo. || 50 [τὰ πράγματ']? Bl. 'Loci [11] § 3, 21 § 84,
 vehementer suadent ut sensu intransitivo accipiat *διεξελλήλυθεν*;
 itaque si πάντα subiectum est, etiam ad πρὸς αὐτὴν ἤκει τὴν
 τελευτὴν αὐτῷ idem subiectum esse potest, idque multo aptius,
 quia de Philippi potentia haec dici propter rerum veritatem
 vix ac ne vix quidem poterant. . . ceterum agnoscit τὰ πρά-
 γματα Choricus' Bl. || αὐτῷ vulgo et Choricus (Weil, Bl):
 αὐτοῦ S; [αὐτοῦ] West⁹.

§ 6 l. 58 καὶ τῷ vulgo: καὶ τῷ τὸ Reiske. || κατασκευάσαι
 S F¹ etc: -σειν O Y.

60 θίων φιλίαν μετὰ ταῦτα, τῷ Ποτείδαιαν οὔσαν
 ὑμετέραν ἐξελεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρότερον συμ- p. 20
 μάχους ἀδικῆσαι, παραδοῦναι δ' ἐκείνοις, Θετ-
 ταλοὺς δὲ νῦν τὰ τελευταῖα, τῷ Μαγνησίαν
 παραδώσειν ὑποσχέσθαι, καὶ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλε-
 65 μον πολεμήσειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναδέξασθαι. ὅλως
 δ' οὔδεις ἔστιν ὄντιν' οὐ πεφενάκις ἐκείνος τῶν
 αὐτῷ χρησαμένων· τὴν γὰρ ἐκάστων ἄνοιαν ἀεὶ
 τῶν ἀγνοούντων αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῶν καὶ προσλαμ-
 βάνων, οὕτως ἠϋζήθη. ὥσπερ οὖν διὰ τούτων 8
 70 ἦρθη μέγας, ἡνίχ' ἕκαστοι συμφέρον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῖς
 ᾧοντό τι πράττειν, οὕτως ὀφείλει διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν
 τούτων καὶ καθαιρεθῆναι πάλιν, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ'
 εἶνεχ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν ἐξεληλέγκται. καιροῦ μὲν
 δὴ ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστι
 75 Φιλίππῳ τὰ πράγματα· ἥ' παρελθὼν τις ἐμοί,
 μᾶλλον δ' ὑμῖν δειξάτω, ἥ ὥς οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ'
 ἐγὼ λέγω, ἥ ὥς οἱ τὰ πρῶτ' ἐξηπατημένοι τὰ
 λοιπὰ πιστεύουσιν, ἥ ὥς οἱ παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν
 ἀξίαν δεδουλωμένοι [Θετταλοὶ] νῦν οὐκ ἂν ἐλεύ-
 80 θεροι γένοιοντ' ἄσμενοι.

Καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ὑμῶν ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔχειν 9

§ 7 l. 61 *συμμάχους* 'recte schol S P explicat τοὺς Ποτιδαί-
 τας ([7] § 10). itaque delendum quod vulgo additur ὑμᾶς (S etc
 Voemel, Weil), sive ἡμᾶς; neque enim fuerat Atheniensibus
 cum Philippo societas' Bl.

§ 8 l. 72 καὶ om Rufus iii 458, cp. schol p. 86, 12; [καὶ] Bl¹;
 ὥσπερ οὖν διὰ τούτων αὐτῶν ἦρθη μέγας, οὕτω δεῖ καὶ διὰ τούτων
 αὐτῶν καθ. πάλιν *lihet.* vii 25. || 73 καὶ οὐ μὲν δὴ -; Polasek
 (with hiatus). || 74 To avoid hiatus ὦ ἄνδ. Ἀθ. may either be
 placed after πρὸς τοῦτ' (Bl¹), or omitted with schol Aristeid p.
 69 Dind (Bl²). || 76 ἥ ὥς οὐκ F Y and (omitting ἥ ὥς οἱ -
 πιστεύουσιν) A (Weil, Bl²³), cp. 40 § 60: ὥς οὐκ S (Sauppe
 Bl¹). || 79 [Θετταλοὶ] Rosenberg (Bl²³).

ἡγεῖται, οἶεται δὲ βία καθέξειν αὐτὸν τὰ πρά-
 γματα, τῷ τὰ χωρία καὶ λιμένας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
 προειληφέναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἶεται. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ
 ὑπ' εὐνοίας τὰ πράγματα συστήῃ, καὶ πᾶσι ταῦτα⁸⁵
 συμφέρη τοῖς μετέχουσι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ συμ-
 πονεῖν καὶ φέρειν τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ μένειν
 ἐθέλουσιν ἄνθρωποι· ὅταν δ' ἐκ πλεονεξίας καὶ
 πονηρίας τις ὥσπερ οὗτος ἰσχύσῃ, ἡ πρώτη
 πρόφασις καὶ μικρὸν πταῖσμα πάντ' ἀνεχαίτισεν⁹⁰
 10 καὶ διέλυσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐκ ἔστιν ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδικοῦντα κάπιορκοῦντα καὶ ψευδό-
 p. 21 μενον δύναμιν βεβαίαν κτήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοι-
 αῦτ' εἰς μὲν ἄπαξ καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει,
 καὶ σφόδρα γ' ἡνθησ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἂν τύχῃ,⁹⁵
 τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ φωρᾶται καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ.
 ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας οἶμαι καὶ πλοίου καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων τὰ κάτωθεν ἰσχυρότατ'
 εἶναι δεῖ, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ

§ 9 l. 90 μικρὸν mss and Plin *Ep.* ix 26, 9 (Weil, Bl¹): τὸ
 τυχόν [11] § 7 and variant in margin of B (Bl³). μικρὰ πρόφασις
 καὶ τὸ μικρὸν πταῖσμα Doxopater ii 232. μία τις ἀφορμὴ καὶ τὸ
 τυχόν πταῖσμα προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε Choricus in Miltiade. ||
 πταῖσμα πάντα Dresden ms of Plin l.c., cp. Aristeid i 580
 (Dind, Bl¹): πταῖσμ' ἅπαντα mss (Voemel, Bl³); πταῖσμα ἅπ.
 Weil. || 91 καὶ διέλυσεν mss and Plin l.c. (Weil, Bl¹): [καὶ
 διέλυσεν] Cobet (Bl³), omitted in *Rhet.* ii 232 Walz and i 437
 Spengel, both following the same authority and quoting ἀν-
 εχαίτισε alone as an example of a concise metaphor, not re-
 quiring any such explanation as that added to ἐκνευρισμένη
 in 3 § 31. διέλυσεν is, however, not an explanation of ἀνεχ.,
 but a new metaphor corresponding to συστή. 'This might
 serve to defend διέλυσεν but for the fact that both verbs have
 a common object in ἅπαντα, the sense of which is obscured by
 διέλυσεν. With ἀνεχ. it denotes "states and peoples"; with
 διέλυσεν "power in general"' (Bl³).

100 τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀληθεῖς καὶ δικαίας εἶναι προσήκει.
τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἔνι νῦν ἐν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
Φιλίππῳ.

Φημὶ δὴ δεῖν ὑμᾶς τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυνθίοις 11
βοηθεῖν, καὶ ὅπως τις λέγει κάλλιστα καὶ
105 τάχιστα, οὕτως ἀρέσκει μοι· πρὸς δὲ Θετταλοὺς
πρεσβείαν πέμπειν, ἣ τοὺς μὲν διδάξει ταῦτα,
τοὺς δὲ παροξυνεῖ· καὶ γὰρ νῦν εἰσιν ἐψηφι-
σμένοι Παγασὰς ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ περὶ Μαγνησίας
λόγους ποιεῖσθαι. σκοπεῖσθε μέντοι τοῦτ' ὦ 12
110 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅπως μὴ λόγους ἐροῦσιν μόνον
οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν πρέσβεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργον τι
δεικνύειν ἔξουσιν, ἐξεληλυθότων ὑμῶν ἀξίως τῆς
πόλεως καὶ ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥς ἅπας
μὲν λόγος, ἂν ἀπῇ τὰ ἔργα, μάταιόν τι φαίνεται
115 καὶ κενόν, μάλιστα δ' ὁ παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας
πόλεως· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἐτοιμότατ' αὐτῷ δοκοῦμεν
χρῆσθαι, τοσούτῳ· μᾶλλον ἀπιστοῦσι πάντες
αὐτῷ. πολλὴν δὴ τὴν μετάστασιν καὶ μεγάλην 13

§ 10 l. 100 εἶναι προσήκει MSS (Weil): om some MSS of Stobaeus 9 § 51, also Rufus iii 457 (Bl).

§ 11 l. 103 ὑμᾶς: ἡμᾶς **S O** (Weil); + ἅμα vulgo. || 106 [ταῦτα]? Bl, cp. 8 § 76, 9 § 73, schol p. 90, 5.

§ 12 l. 111 [οἱ—πρέσβεις]? Bl. || 112 ὑμῶν **S B O Y** (Weil, West⁹): ἡμῶν after inferior MSS (Bl). || 114 ἂν ἀπῇ τὰ ἔργα **A Y**, Olympiodorus *Meteor. Lect.* 46, and variant in Isidor Pelus iv 85 (Bl³): ἂν ἀπόντ' ἔργ' ἔχῃ Isidor (Bl¹): ἂν ἀπῇ τὰ πράγματα **S** etc (Weil). τὰ ἔργα keeps up the regular distinction between λόγος and ἔργον, 'word' and 'deed,' whereas τὰ πράγματα is the antithesis to ὀνόματα (9 § 15) and is here due to τοῖς πράγμασιν above. || 116 ὅσῳ γὰρ . . τοσούτῳ MSS (Weil, Bl¹): , ὅσῳ περ (18 § 5) . . . τοσούτῳ γὰρ (Bl³): , ὅσῳ καὶ (as in Thuc i 68, ii 47) Cobet, omitting τοσούτῳ—αὐτῷ, cp. [11] § 23. || 118 [αὐτῷ] Rosenberg.

- δεικτέον [τὴν μεταβολήν], εἰσφέροντας, ἐξιόντας, ἅπαντα ποιούντας ἐτοίμως, εἴπερ τις ὑμῖν ¹²⁰ προσέξει τὸν νοῦν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐβελήσθη' ὥς προσήκει καὶ δὴ περαίνειν, οὐ μόνον ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ συμμαχικὰ ἀσθενῶς καὶ ἀπίστως
- p. 22 ἔχοντα φανήσεται Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως κακῶς ἔχοντ' ἐξ- ¹²⁵ ελεγχθήσεται.
- 14 Ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ δύναμις καὶ ἀρχή, ἐν μὲν προσθήκῃ μερίς ἐστὶ τις οὐ μικρά· οἶον ὑπῆρξέ ποθ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους· πάλιν αὖ πρὸς Ποτειδαίαν Ὀλυν- ¹³⁰ θίοις ἐφάνη τι τοῦτο συναμφότερον· νυνὶ δὲ Θετταλοῖς νοσοῦσι καὶ τεταραγμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν ἐβοήθησεν· καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν οἶμαι προσθῇ καὶ μικρὰν δύναμιν, πάντ' ὠφελεί· αὐτὴ δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν ἀσθενὴς καὶ πολ- ¹³⁵
- 15 λῶν κακῶν ἐστι μεστή. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἅπασι

§ 13 l. 119 [τὴν μεταβολήν] Cobet, Weil, Bl, West⁹: quoted by Isidor iv 18: retained by Voemel, cp. Thuc ii 48, 2; vi 20, 1. || 122 καὶ διαπράττειν Rosenberg. || 125 [καὶ δυνάμεως]? Bl², cp. schol p. 91, 3. || [ἔχοντ' ἐξελεγχθήσεται] Rosenberg.

§ 14 l. 127 [καὶ ἀρχή] Bl², cp. l. 125 ἀρχῆς, ignored by schol p. 91, 6, 20, 23; 'numerus quoque convincitur' (Bl²). || 128 προσθήκῃ μερίς **S F B**, cp. ἐν προσθήκῃ γενέσθων Aristeid ii 663: προσθήκης μερίει vulgo (Dind), cp. [11] § 8, Aristeid i 680, 730, 749, Lucian *Zeuaxis* c. 2. || 130 f Ὀλυνθίους· (Madvig, Bl). || 131 τὰ πρὸ συναμφοτέρων Tournier. || νυνὶ δὲ vulgo (Weil): νυνὶ **S**¹ alone (Voemel, Bl). || 132 νοσοῦσι (Cobet, Bl) explained by schol p. 92, 15: στασιάζουσι **S B** (Weil): νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσι most MSS; cp. 9 § 12 νοσοῦσι [καὶ στασιάζουσι] Cobet, Bl. || τεταραγμένοις· (Bl). || 133 ἐβοήθησεν (or -σαν) MSS: [] Weil. || καὶ ὅποι vulgo (Weil); καίτοι (ὅποι κτλ.) Rosenberg: ὅποι **S**¹ (Voemel, Bl). || 134 μικρὰν δύναμιν: 'malim μικρὸν ut in sententia generali' Bl.

τούτοις, οἷς ἂν τις μέγαν αὐτὸν ἡγήσαιοτο, τοῖς
πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις, ἔτ' ἐπισφαλεστέραν
ἢ ὑπῆρχε φύσει κατεσκευάκεν αὐτῷ. μὴ γὰρ
140 οἷεσθ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς Φίλιπ-
πόν τε χαίρειν καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν
δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐζήλωκεν, καὶ προήρηται
πράττων καὶ κινδυνεύων, ἂν συμβῇ τι, παθεῖν, τὴν
τοῦ διαπράξασθαι ταῦθ' ἂ μὴδεὶς πώποτ' ἄλλος
145 Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς δόξαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀσφαλῶς
ἡρημένος· τοῖς δὲ τῆς μὲν φιλοτιμίας τῆς ἀπὸ 16
τούτων οὐ μέτεστι, κοπτόμενοι δ' αἰεὶ ταῖς
στρατείαις ταύταις ταῖς ἄνω κάτω λυποῦνται
καὶ συνεχῶς ἑταλαιπωροῦσιν, οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις
150 οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις ἐώμενοι διατρίβειν,
οὔθ' ὅς' ἂν ποιήσωσιν οὕτως ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται,
ταῦτ' ἔχοντες διαθέσθαι, κεκλειμένων τῶν ἐμπο-
ρίων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. οἱ μὲν 17
οὖν πολλοὶ Μακεδόνων πῶς ἔχουσι Φιλίππῳ,
155 ἐκ τούτων ἂν τις σκέψαιτ' οὐ χαλεπῶς· οἱ δὲ δὴ p. 23

§ 15 l. 137 [αὐτὸν]? Bl¹, omitted in some mss of [11] § 9.
|| 139 [ἢ ὑπῆρχε φύσει] Bl¹, omitted in [11] § 5: ἢ ὑπῆρχεν φύσει
Bl³. || 142 ἐζήλωκεν S etc (Weil, Bl³): —ε (Bl¹). || [προήρηται]
Rosenberg. || 143 ἂν συμβῇ τι mss and Liban iv 743, 20 (Weil,
Bl²³): ἂν συμβῇ (Bl¹), schol p. 93, 22 παθεῖν ὃ τι ἂν συμβῇ.
|| 144 ἄλλος Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς mss, including ancient papyrus
(*Cl. Rev.* vi 430), also *Rhet.* iii 287, v 471 (Weil, Bl³); ἄλλος
β. M. iii 710, viii 561, 644; β. ἄλλος M. variant in iii 287:
ἄλλος M. schol p. 94, 1 (Bl¹). || 145 [ἀσφαλῶς] Bl¹, only
omitted in two or three unimportant mss and in *Rhet.* v 471:
retained in Choricus, *Rev. de Phil.* 1877 p. 226; cp. 23 § 112;
καλῶς Tiberius *Rhet.* § 32; εὐκόλως Rosenberg, cp. Isocr 9 § 3.

§ 16 l. 152 κεκλειμένων F B A, corr Aug 3, Choeroboscus, Bekk
Anecd. (Weil, Bl¹): κεκλημένων Cobet (Bl³), the old Attic form
in Thuc and Aristoph; κεκλημ. Aug 3, altered into κεκλειμ.;
κεκλεισμ. S O.

- περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες ξένοι καὶ πεζέταιροι, δόξαν μὲν ἔχουσ' ὥς εἰσὶ θαυμαστοὶ καὶ συγκεκροτημένοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, ὥς δ' ἐγὼ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ γεγενημένων τινὸς ἤκουον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμῶς οἷον τε
- 18 ψεύδεσθαι, οὐδένων εἰσὶν βελτίους. εἰ μὲν γάρ ¹⁶⁰ τις ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷος ἔμπειρος πολέμου καὶ ἀγώνων, τούτους μὲν φιλοτιμία πάντας ἀπωθεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη, βουλόμενον πάνθ' αὐτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι τάργα (πρὸς γὰρ αὖ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἀνυπέρβλητον εἶναι). εἰ δέ τις ¹⁶⁵ σώφρων ἢ δίκαιος ἄλλως, τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκρασίαν τοῦ βίου καὶ μέθην καὶ κορδακισμοὺς οὐ δυνάμενος φέρειν, παρεῶσθαι καὶ ἐν οὐδενὸς
- 19 εἶναι μέρει τὸν τοιοῦτον. λοιποὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι ληστὰς καὶ κόλακας καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώ- ¹⁷⁰ πους, οἷους μεθυσθέντας ὀρχεῖσθαι τοιαῦτα, οἳ ἐγὼ νῦν ὀκνῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαι. δῆλον δ' ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ· καὶ γὰρ οὓς ἐνθένδε πάντες ἀπήλαυνον, ὥς πολὺ τῶν θαυματοποιῶν

§ 17 l. 156 ὄντες MSS (Weil): om Hermog iii 50, vii 607 (Bl). || 157 θαυμαστοὶ MSS (Bl¹³): δυνατοὶ *Rhet.* vii 607 (Bl²). || 158 αὐτῇ and 159 γεγενημένων om *Rhet.* vii 607; the latter also om in several MSS, O etc: Liban iv 776, 3 ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν τινος ἐπιθόμην ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμῶς ψεύσασθαι πεφυκότος. || 159 οἷον τε MSS and *Rhet.*, also Aristeid ii 441 D; Julian *Ep.* 22; and Choricus (Weil etc): οἷον [τε] Bl, cp. 4 § 9.

§ 18 l. 165 φιλοτιμίαν S etc (Weil, Bl): + τὰνδρὸς vulgo. || 166 ἄλλως τε τὴν Doederlein (Dind). || 167 τοῦ βίου suspected by Bl². || κορδακισμοὺς MSS: σκορακίζεται in [11] § 11 suggests to Weil the possibility of an ancient variant here, σκορακισμούς. || 168 παρεῶσθαι S A Y: παρεωρᾶσθαι vulgo, here and 23 § 105, a mistake for περιῶφθαι, 19 § 66.

§ 19 l. 170 [εἶναι]? Bl. || ληστὰς defended by Dobree and Cobet: γελοιαστὰς Valekenaeer: ἀλάστορας Bake. || καὶ (after κόλακας) om some inferior MSS and S¹ (Sauppe).

175 ἀσελγεστέρους ὄντας, Καλλίαν ἐκείνον τὸν
 δημόσιον καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, μίμους
 γελοίων καὶ ποιητὰς αἰσχυρῶν ἀσμάτων, ὧν εἰς
 τοὺς συνόντας ποιοῦσιν εἵνεκα τοῦ γελασθῆναι,
 τούτους ἀγαπᾷ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει. καίτοι
 180 ταῦτα, καὶ εἰ μικρά τις ἡγείται, μεγάλ' ὧ ἄνδρες 20
 Ἀθηναῖοι δείγματα τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καὶ
 κακοδαιμονίας ἐστὶ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν. ἀλλ'
 οἶμαι νῦν μὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τούτοις τὸ κατορθοῦν·
 αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι δειναὶ συγκρύψαι τὰ τοιαῦτ'
 185 ὀνειδίη· εἰ δέ τι πταίσει, τότ' ἀκριβῶς αὐτοῦ
 πάντ' ἐξετασθήσεται. δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγ' ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι δείξειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἂν οἱ τε θεοὶ p. 24
 θέλωσι καὶ ὑμεῖς βούλησθε. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς 21
 σώμασιν, τέως μὲν ἂν ἐρρωμένος ἦ τις, οὐδὲν
 190 ἐπαισθάνεται, ἐπὰν δ' ἀρρώστημά τι συμβῇ,
 πάντα κινεῖται, καὶ ῥῆγμα, καὶ στρέμμα, καὶ
 ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σαθρὸν ἦ, οὕτω καὶ

l. 176 καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους Bl³: [] Bl¹: καὶ τ. [ἀνθρώπους]
 Bl². || 177 [ὧν εἰς—γελασθῆναι] Herwerden. || 178 εἵνεκα Bl³:
 ἔνεκα MSS (Weil). || 179, τούτους Bl¹³: τούτους, Bl².

§ 20 l. 180 καὶ εἰ S A: εἰ καὶ vulgo. || [τις ἡγείται]? Bl²,
 recognised by schol p. 100, 16, though omitted by Ioann
 Chrysost i 188, 1 ταῦτα δὲ εἰ καὶ μικρά, ἀλλὰ μεγάλους κτλ.
 || 184 συγκρύψαι S B: + καὶ συσκιᾶσαι vulgo (interpolated from
 [11] § 13, or suggested by ἐπισκοτεῖ), Theon (*Rhet.* i 200), Seneca
Controv. ix 24, Stobaeus 106, 13. || 186 πάντα A suppl. (Bl):
 ταῦτα S B O (Weil): ταῦτα πάντα A (schol 101, 12) or ταῦτα
 ἐξ. πάντα (Y) or πάντα ἐξ. ταῦτα in other MSS; π. τ. or τ. π. in
 [11] § 13; similar variations in 3 § 17, 4 § 8.

§ 21 l. 189 τέως MSS, Stobaeus 100 § 9, and Suidas s.v.:
 ἕως Dind. || 190 ἐπαισθάνεται S¹ alone (Weil, Bl): + τῶν καθ'
 ἕκαστα σαθρῶν vulgo, from [11] § 14. || 192 σαθρὸν (Weil) O¹
 altered into -ῶν: σαθρῶν (Bl) four inferior MSS and S¹ altered
 by the first hand into -όν.

τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν τυράννων, ἕως μὲν ἂν ἔξω πολεμῶσιν, ἀφανῇ τὰ κακὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστίν, ἐπειδὰν δ' ὁμορος πόλεμος συμπλακῇ, πάντ' ¹⁹⁵ ἐποίησεν ἔκδηλα.

- 22 Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Φίλιππον εὐτυχοῦνθ' ὁρῶν ταύτῃ φοβερόν προσπολεμῆσαι νομίζει, σῶφρονος μὲν ἀνθρώπου λογισμῶ χρήται· μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὅλον ἢ ²⁰⁰ τύχη παρὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα· οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' ἔγωγ', εἴ τις αἵρεσίν μοι δοίῃ, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως τύχην ἂν ἐλοίμην, ἐθελόντων ἂ προσήκει ποιεῖν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου· πολὺ γὰρ πλείους ἀφορμὰς ²⁰⁵ εἰς τὸ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν ἔχειν ὁρῶ
- 23 ὑμῖν ἐνούσας ἢ 'κείνω· ἀλλ' οἶμαι καθήμεθ' οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες· οὐκ ἔνι δ' αὐτὸν ἀργοῦντ' οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιτάττειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τι ποιεῖν, μή τί γε δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς. οὐ δὴ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, εἰ στρα- ²¹⁰

l. 194 ἀφανῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ κάκ' ἐστίν preferred by Bl² to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪ in τὰ κακά. || [τοῖς πολλοῖς] Bl¹, from [11] § 14.

§ 22 l. 198 ταύτῃ om Bl¹ with [11] § 15; restored by Bl². || πολεμῆσαι suggested by Bl². || 199 λογισμῶ: προνοία Dionys p. 1089 R (from [11] § 15). || 200 τὸ ὅλον vulgo, and most mss in [11] § 15, also Gregor Corinth vii^b p. 1325 (Weil): ὅλον **S** here, and **Y O** in [11] § 15 (Bl). || 202 δοίῃ: δώῃ **S**. || 204 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν mss (Weil, Bl³): ὑμῶν Gregor Corinth vii 1325 and Dionys l.c. (Bl¹). || 207 ἐνούσας mss (Voemel, Weil, Bl³): οὔσας GHSchaefer, Cobet here and in 6 § 12 where **S** alone has οὔσας (Bl¹).

§ 23 l. 208 τοῖς φίλοις **S** (Weil): φίλοις **B F O Y** and Dionys (Bl). || 210 δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς most mss (Voemel, Weil, Bl³): δὴ θεοῖς Bl¹, θεοῖς Dionys l.c.; τοῖς θεοῖς Bl² (μή τί γε being the usual formula in Dem). || θαυμαστόν ἐστιν mss (Bl³): θαυμαστόν Hermog iii 123 etc (Bl¹), cp. [11] § 17. || [στρατευόμενος καὶ] Bl¹.

τευόμενος καὶ πονῶν ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς καὶ παρὼν ἐφ'
 ἅπασι καὶ μήτε καιρὸν μήθ' ὥραν παραλείπων,
 ἡμῶν μελλόντων καὶ ψηφίζομένων καὶ πυνθανο-
 μένων περιγίγνεται. οὐδὲ θαυμάζω τοῦτ' ἐγώ·
 215 τοῦναντίον γὰρ ἂν ἦν θαυμαστόν, εἰ μηδὲν ποι-
 οῦντες ἡμεῖς ὦν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι προσήκει, τοῦ
 πάντα ποιούντος περιῆμεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο θαυμάζω, 24
 εἰ Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ποτε ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι p. 25
 ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων ἀντήρατε, καὶ
 220 πόλλ' ἰδίᾳ πλεονεκτῆσαι πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐξὸν οὐκ
 ἠθελήσατε, ἀλλ' ἵν' οἱ ἄλλοι τύχῳσι τῶν δικαίων,
 τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀνηλίσκετ' εἰσφέροντες, καὶ
 προεκινδυνεύετε στρατευόμενοι, νυνὶ δ' ὀκνεῖτ'
 ἐξιέναι καὶ μέλλετ' εἰσφέρειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων
 225 αὐτῶν κτημάτων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους σεσώκατε
 πολλάκις πάντας καὶ καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν ἐν μέρει, τὰ
 δ' ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀπολωλεκότες κάθησθε. ταῦτα 25
 θαυμάζω, καὶ τι πρὸς τούτοις, εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ὦ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δύναται λογίσασθαι, πόσον
 230 πολεμεῖτε χρόνον Φιλίππῳ, καὶ τί ποιοούντων ὑμῶν
 ὁ χρόνος διελήλυθεν οὗτος. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου

1. 211 ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς MSS (Weil): ἐκεῖνος Hermog pp. 123, 149
 (Bl). || 212 μήτε κ. μήθ' Bl: μηδὲ κ. μηδ' S B F: μηδένα κ. μηδ'
 vulgo (Weil): μηδένα καιρὸν <παρεῖς> μηδ' Cobet (cp. [11]
 § 17, 8 § 34, 18 § 303). || 215 ἂν om F A Y etc and Hermog iii
 123, 150: retained by Liban iv 447, 17. || 216 ὦν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι
 προσήκει om Bl¹. || 217 ποιούντος S¹: + ἃ δεῖ vulgo.

§ 24 l. 218 [ὦ ἄνδ. Ἀθ.] Bl¹, to avoid hiatus, om Tiberius
 vii 548. || 219 ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων (om δικαίων) Dobree, Cobet.
 || 220 [ὑμῖν]? Bl. || 223 προεκινδ. Weil. || νυν δ' ὀκνεῖτ' preferred
 by Bl. || 226 καὶ καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν: καὶ om S; + ἕκαστον vulgo.
 || 227 ἀπολλύντες? Bl, cp. Aristeid ii 588 τῷ θυμῷ τὰ πράγματ'
 ἀπολλύς καθήσει.

§ 25 l. 231 ὁ χρόνος S alone: + ἅπας vulgo.

- τοῦθ' ὅτι μελλόντων αὐτῶν, ἐτέρους τινὰς ἐλπίζοντων πράξειν, αἰτιωμένων ἀλλήλους, κρινόντων, πάλιν ἐλπίζοντων, σχεδὸν ταῦθ' ἅπερ νυνὶ
 26 ποιούντων, ἅπας ὁ χρόνος διελήλυθεν. εἴθ' ²³⁵
 οὕτως ἀγνωμόνως ἔχετ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε δι' ὧν ἐκ χρηστῶν φαῦλα τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως γέγονεν, διὰ τούτων ἐλπίζετε τῶν αὐτῶν [πράξεων] ἐκ φαύλων αὐτὰ χρηστὰ γενήσεσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐτ' εὐλογον οὐτ' ἔχον ἐστὶ φύσιν τοῦτό γε. ²⁴⁰
 πολὺν γὰρ ῥᾶον ἔχοντας φυλάττειν ἢ κτήσασθαι πάντα πέφυκεν. νῦν δ' ὅ τι μὲν φυλάξομεν, οὐδέν ἐσθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου λοιπὸν τῶν πρότερον, κτήσασθαι δὲ δεῖ. αὐτῶν οὖν ἡμῶν ἔργον τοῦτ'
 27 ἤδη. φημὶ δὴ δεῖν εἰσφέρειν χρήματα, αὐτοὺς ²⁴⁵
 ἐξιέναι προθύμως, μηδέν' αἰτιᾶσθαι πρὶν ἂν τῶν πραγμάτων κρατήσητε, τηνικαῦτα δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων κρίναντας, τοὺς μὲν ἀξίους ἐπαίνου
 p. 26 τιμᾶν, τοὺς δ' ἀδικοῦντας κολάζειν, τὰς προφάσεις
 δ' ἀφελεῖν καὶ τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐλλείμματα. οὐ γὰρ ²⁵⁰
 ἔστι πικρῶς ἐξετάσαι τί πέπρακται τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἂν μὴ παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ὑπάρξη τὰ
 28 δέοντα. τίνος γὰρ εἵνεκ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι

1. 232 αὐτῶν **S** alone (Dind, Weil, Bl³): ὑμῶν vulgo: omi GHSchaefer, Cobet (Bl¹). || 234 ταῦτα MSS: ταῦτὰ Mounteney (ταῦθ' Weil, Blass). || 235 [ἅπας—διελήλυθεν] Cobet.

§ 26 l. 238 διὰ τούτων ἐλπ. τῶν αὐτῶν **S B** (Voemel, Weil, Bl): διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἐλπ. vulgo. || [τῶν αὐτῶν πράξεων] Cobet, 'non enim διὰ πράξεων τινων res Atheniensium afflictæ erant, sed ὅτι ἐκάθηντο οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες. διὰ τούτων=διὰ ῥαθυμίας καὶ ἀργίας καὶ μαλακίας καὶ δειλίας'; unnoticed by schol and om in [11] § 21: [πράξεων] Gebauer (Bl, Rosenberg). || 239 αὐτὰ: αὐ preferred by Bl. || 240 ἔχον: ἔχοντα preferred by Bl for sake of rhythm.

§ 28 l. 253 ἔνεκα MSS.

νομίζετε, τοῦτον μὲν φεύγειν τὸν πόλεμον πάντας
 255 ὅσους ἂν ἐκπέμψητε στρατηγούς, ἰδίους δ' εὐρί-
 σκειν πολέμους, εἰ δεῖ τι τῶν ὄντων καὶ περὶ τῶν
 στρατηγῶν εἰπεῖν; ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἐστὶ τᾶθλ'
 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος ὑμέτερα· Ἀμφίπολις
 καὶ ληφθῇ, παραχρῆμ' ὑμεῖς κομιεῖσθε· οἱ δὲ
 260 κίνδυνοι τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἴδιοι, μισθὸς δ' οὐκ
 ἔστιν· ἐκεῖ δὲ κίνδυνοι μὲν ἐλάττους, τὰ δὲ
 λήμματα τῶν ἐφεστηκότων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν,
 Λάμψακος, Σίγειον, τὰ πλοῖ' ἃ συλῶσιν. ἐπ'
 οὖν τὸ λυσιτελοῦν αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι χωροῦσιν.
 265 ὑμεῖς δ', ὅταν μὲν εἰς τὰ πράγματ' ἀποβλέψητε 29
 φαύλως ἔχοντα, τοὺς ἐφεστηκότας κρίνετε, ὅταν
 δὲ δόντες λόγον τὰς ἀνάγκας ἀκούσῃτε ταύτας,
 ἀφίετε. περίεστι τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐρίζειν
 καὶ διεστάναι, τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα πεπεισμένοις, τοῖς
 270 δὲ ταῦτα, τὰ κοινὰ δ' ἔχειν φαύλως. πρότερον
 μὲν γὰρ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ συμμορίας
 εἰσεφέρετε, νυνὶ δὲ πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμο-
 ρίας. ῥήτωρ ἡγεμῶν ἐκατέρων καὶ στρατηγός

1. 256 εἴ τι δεῖ Aristeid ii 330 (Bl¹), revoked by Bl². || 258 [Ἀμφίπολις] 'neque unum praemium certum Demostheni nomi-
 nandum erat, neque nunc de Amphipoli ante annos non paucos
 in Philippi dicionem redacta recuperanda agebatur' MADVIG
 (Bl¹³, Baron); retained by Bl² as antithesis to Λάμψακος, Σίγειον
 below. (Ἀμφίπολις — κομιεῖσθε) Voemel, Weil. Ἀμφίπολις ἂν
 H Wolf: Ἀμφίπολιν Dind, + καὶ ἂν (= ἂ ἂν) Rehdantz.

§ 29 ll. 270-6 [πρότερον—ἐκείνους] once regarded by Bl as
 a first draught afterwards abandoned by Dem. || 271 κατὰ συμμ.
 εἰσεφέρετε Cobet, Weil, Bl, from [13] § 20, to avoid hiatus (and
 ∪ ∪ ∪): εἰσεφ. κατὰ συμμ. MSS. || 272 [κατὰ συμμορίας] Bl, to
 avoid ∪ ∪ ∪, but this is allowed in satirical passages as in 4 §
 36 and 5 § 2. || 273 ἡγεμῶν ἐκατέρων MSS (Weil, Bl³): ἡγεμῶν
 [13] § 20, schol p. 110, 3, Suidas s.v. ῥήτωρ (Bl¹).

ὑπὸ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ βοησόμενοι τριακόσιοι· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προσενέμῃσθε, οἱ μὲν ὥς τούτους, οἱ δ' 275
 30 ὥς ἐκείνους. δεῖ δὴ ταύτ' ἐπανέντας, καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν γενομένους, κοινὸν καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ βουλευέσθαι καὶ τὸ πράττειν
 p. 27 ποιῆσαι. εἰ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ τυραννίδος ὑμῶν ἐπιτάττειν ἀποδώσετε, τοῖς δ' ἀναγκάζεσθαι 280
 τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, στρατεύεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ τούτων μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν συμπονεῖν, οὐχὶ γενήσεται τῶν δεόντων ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἐν καιρῷ· τὸ γὰρ ἡδίκημένον αἰεὶ μέρος ἐλλείψει, εἴθ' ὑμῖν τούτους κολλάζειν ἀντὶ τῶν 285
 31 ἐχθρῶν ἐξέσται. λέγω δὴ κεφάλαιον, πάντας εἰσφέρειν ἀφ' ὅσων ἕκαστος ἔχει τὸ ἴσον· πάντας ἐξιέναι κατὰ μέρος, ἕως ἂν ἅπαντες στρατεύ-
 σησθε· πᾶσι τοῖς παριούσι λόγον διδόναι, καὶ τὰ βέλτισθ' ὧν ἂν ἀκούσῃθ' αἰρεῖσθαι, μὴ ἂν ὁ δεῖν' 290
 ἢ ὁ δεῖν' εἴπη. καὶ ταῦτα ποιήτε, οὐ τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον παραχρῆμ' ἐπαινέσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον, βέλτιον τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων ὑμῖν ἐχόντων.

1. 274 ὑπὸ τούτῳ MSS (Weil, Bl³): [] Bl¹, to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪ ; 'the words are not needed, and not noticed by schol p. 109, 24.' || οἱ τριακόσιοι two or three inferior MSS (Bekker and partly approved by Weil, with hiatus). || 275 [οἱ μὲν—ἐκείνους] Rehdantz, Bl¹, προσνέμειν being found elsewhere with Dat. alone.

§ 30 l. 278 λέγειν καὶ τὸ βουλ. vulgo (Weil, Bl²³): βουλ. καὶ τὸ λέγειν S: βουλ. [καὶ τὸ λέγειν] Bl¹. || 281 [στρατεύεσθαι] Bl, 'makes no proper sense and is ignored by schol pp. 72, 21; 110, 16, the former schol apparently reading τριηραρχεῖν λειτουργεῖν εἰσφέρειν.' || 282 καὶ τοῦτο μόνον Herwerden. || 286 ἐξέσται S F O B¹: περιέσται vulgo, cp. § 29.

§ 31 l. 288 ἕως MSS (Bl¹³): τέως Bl².

ΟΛΤΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Γ

Οὐχὶ ταῦτὰ παρίσταται μοι γιγνώσκειν ὧ p. 28
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ'
 ἀποβλέψω, καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὖς
 ἀκούω· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρή-
 5 σασθαι Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γιγνομένους, τὰ δὲ πρά-
 γματ' εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα, ὥσθ' ὅπως μὴ
 πεισόμεθ' αὐτοὶ πρότερον κακῶς σκέψασθαι
 δέον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα
 λέγοντες, ἢ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, περὶ ἧς βουλευέσθε,
 10 οὐχὶ τὴν οὔσαν παριστάντες ὑμῖν ἀμαρτάνειν.
 ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι μὲν ποτ' ἐξῆν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς 2
 ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ Φίλιππον τιμωρήσασθαι,
 καὶ μάλ' ἀκριβῶς οἶδα· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ γάρ, οὐχὶ πάλαι,
 γέγονεν ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρω· νῦν μέντοι πέπεισμαι
 15 τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν προλαβεῖν ἡμῖν εἶναι τὴν πρώτην,
 ὅπως τοὺς συμμάχους σώσομεν. ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο p. 29

§ 1 l. 7 πεισόμεθα **O Y** and corrected **S**: πεισώμεθα **S**¹ and
 vulgo. || 9 βουλευέσσεσθε Dobree.

§ 2 l. 13 καὶ mss (Weil, Bl²): om Isidor Pelus (Bl¹). || οὐχὶ
 πάλαι Isidor and vulgo (Bl), 'cum οὐ πάλαι (**S**, Weil) facile in
 pravam sensum (= νεωστὶ) accipi possit.' || 16 σώσομεν **F Y** (Weil,
 Bl, Baron): σώσωμεν **S** and vulgo.

βεβαίως ὑπάρξῃ, τότε καὶ περὶ τοῦ τίνα τιμωρή-
σεται τις καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐξέσται σκοπεῖν· πρὶν
δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρθῶς ὑποθέσθαι, μάταιον ἡγοῦμαι
περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ὄντιν οὖν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον. 20

3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρὸς, εἴπερ ποτέ, πολλῆς
φροντίδος καὶ βουλῆς δεῖται· ἐγὼ δ' οὐχ ὅ τι χρὴ
περὶ τῶν παρόντων συμβουλευσαι, χαλεπώτατον
ἡγοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ἀπορῶ, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον ὧ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν. 25
πέπεισμαι γὰρ ἐξ ὧν <καὶ> παρὼν καὶ ἀκούων
σύννοια, τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἐκπεφευ-
γέναι τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν, ἢ τῷ
μὴ συνιέναι. ἀξιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς, ἂν μετὰ παρρησίας
ποιῶμαι τοὺς λόγους, ὑπομένειν, τοῦτο θεωροῦντας, 30
εἰ τάλῃθ' ἰλέγω, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ', ἵνα τὰ λοιπὰ
βελτίω γένηται· ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς
χάριν δημηγορεῖν ἐνίοις, εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθεν
μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα.

4 Ἀναγκαῖον δ' ὑπολαμβάνω μικρὰ τῶν γεγενη- 35
μένων πρῶτον ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσαι. μέμνησθ' ὧ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτ' ἀπηγγέλθη Φίλιππος ὑμῖν
ἐν Θράκῃ, τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τουτί, Ἡραίου

§ 3 l. 21 (after καιρὸς) ὧ ἄνδ. Ἀθ. vulgo (Weil): interpolated from 1 § 2, om S alone, and *Rhet.* vii 1343 (Bl). || εἴπερ ποτέ S B (Weil, Bl³); [] Bl¹, 'cum παρὼν male conveniunt (hinc εἴπερ τίς ποτε Cobet)'; εἴπερ ποτε καὶ νῦν vulgo, *Rhet.* vii^a 70, vii^b 1343 (cp. 1 § 6); Isidor v 126 ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρὸς καὶ βουλῆς καὶ προνοίας δεῖται πολλῆς. || 23 [περὶ τῶν παρόντων] . . . 25 [περὶ αὐτῶν] Bl¹, perhaps interpolated from Prooem 15. || 26 <καὶ> added by Bl from Isidor. || 28 ἢ S alone, cp. Dio Cassius xlv 293 v: οὐ vulgo. || 30 τοῦτο, θεωροῦντας Bl¹. || 31 ἵνα [τὰ λοιπὰ]? Bl, to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪. || 34 τὰ παρόντα S B: + πράγματα vulgo.

τείχος πολιορκῶν. τότε τοίνυν μὲν ἦν
 40 μαιμακτηριῶν· πολλῶν δὲ λόγων καὶ θορύβου
 γιγνομένου παρ' ὑμῖν, ἐψηφίσασθε τετταράκοντα
 τριήρεις καθέλκειν, καὶ τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ
 τετταράκοντ' ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἐμβαίνειν, καὶ τάλανθ'
 ἐξήκοντ' εἰσφέρειν. καὶ μετὰ τὰῦτα διελθόντος 5
 45 τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου, ἑκατομβαιῶν, μεταγειτνιῶν,
 βοηδρομιῶν· τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς μόγισ μετὰ τὰ
 μυστήρια, δέκα ναῦς ἀπεστείλατ' ἔχοντα κενὰς
 Χαρίδημον καὶ πέντε τάλαντ' ἀργυρίου. ὥς γὰρ p. 30
 ἡγγέλθη Φίλιππος ἀσθενῶν ἢ τεθνεώς (ἦλθε γὰρ
 50 ἀμφότερα), οὐκέτι καιρὸν οὐδένα τοῦ βοηθεῖν
 νομίσαντες, ἀφεῖτ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν ἀπό-
 στολον. ἦν δ' οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς αὐτός· εἰ γὰρ
 τότε ἐκεῖσ' ἐβοηθήσαμεν, ὥσπερ ἐψηφισάμεθα,
 προθύμως, οὐκ ἂν ἐνώχλει νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ Φίλιππος
 55 σωθείς.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ τότε πραχθέντ' οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔχοι· 6
 νῦν δ' ἐτέρου πολέμου καιρὸς ἦκει τις, δι' ὃν καὶ
 περὶ τούτων ἐμνήσθην, ἵνα μὴ ταῦτ' ἀπάθῃτε. τί
 δὴ χρησόμεθ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τούτῳ ; εἰ γὰρ
 60 μὴ βοηθήσετε

ΠΑΝΤΙ ΘΕΝΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ,
 θεάσασθ' ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς ἐστρατηγηκότες πάντ'

§ 4 l. 43 τετταράκοντ' suspected by Westermann and Weil.

§ 5 l. 46 μόγισ **S Y** (Voemel, Bl): μόλις **A O**, corr **B F** (Dind, Weil). || 49 ἦλθεν **S**. || 50 ἀμφότερα? Bl². || 51 ἀφεῖτε **A Y** (Weil, Bl, Baron): ἀφίετε **S**, ἡφίετε Dind: ἀφήκατε vulgo. || 54 ἐνώχλει (and ἐνωχλοῦμεν p. 933, 2) **S** (Bl³); ἡνώχλει most mss (Weil, Bl¹). || 55 σωθείς **S B**; [] Cobet, approved by Bl: τότε σωθείς **A O Y**.

§ 6 l. 60 βοηθήσητε **S**.

- 7 ἔσεσθ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. ὑπῆρχον Ὀλύνθιοι δύνάμιν
 τινὰ κεκτημένοι, καὶ διέκειθ' οὕτω τὰ πράγματα·
 οὔτε Φίλιππος ἐθάρρει τούτους οὔθ' οὔτοι Φίλ- 65
 ιππον. ἐπράξαμεν ἡμεῖς ἀκκείνοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς
 εἰρήνην· ἦν τοῦθ' ὥσπερ ἐμπόδισμά τι τῷ
 Φιλίππῳ καὶ δυσχερές, πόλιν μεγάλην ἐφορμῆν
 τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς διηλλαγμένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκ-
 πολεμῶσαι δεῖν ὥμεθα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ παν- 70
 τὸς τρόπου· καὶ ὁ πάντες ἐθρύλουν, πέπρακται
 8 νυνὶ τοῦθ' ὅπως δῆποτε. τί οὖν ὑπόλοιπον ὦ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλὴν βοηθεῖν ἐρρωμένως καὶ
 προθύμως; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὀρώ· χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς
 περιστάσης ἂν ἡμᾶς αἰσχύνης, εἰ καθυφείμεθά 75
 τι τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδὲ τὸν φόβον ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι μικρὸν ὀρώ τὸν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐχόν-
 των μὲν ὡς ἔχουσι Θηβαίων ἡμῖν, ἀπειρηκότων
 δὲ χρήμασι Φωκέων, μηδενὸς δ' ἐμποδῶν ὄντος
 Φιλίππῳ, τὰ παρόντα καταστρεφάμενῳ, πρὸς 80
 9 ταῦτ' ἐπικλῖναι τὰ πράγματα. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τις

1. 63 ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου MSS (Weil, Bl³): Φιλίππῳ Aristeid i 600, 263, ii 189, Liban iv 74, 23, Ioann Chrysost i 329, 49, 53 (Bl¹).

§ 7 l. 66 πρὸς ἡμᾶς <αὐτοὺς>, or rather (with Weil) πρὸς αὐτοὺς (= ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς)? Bl; cp. § 17 ἑαυτοῖς = ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, 9 § 73 αὐτῶν = ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. || 69 ἐκπολεμῶσαι vulgo (Weil): -ῆσαι S¹ alone (Voemel, Bl), see 1 § 7. || 70 ὥμεθα Bl (Isaeus 2 § 30, Xen Anab. vi 3, 25 f, Aristeid i 741, cp. 603; οἰμενοι S¹ 19 § 51, cp. 51 § 3): ὥόμεθα MSS ∪ ∪ ∪ (Weil). || 71 ὁ πάντες ἐθρύλουν, πέπρακται νυνὶ τοῦθ' Voemel, Weil: ἀπαντες (altered into ὁ πάντες) ἐθρ. (τοῦτο effaced) πέπρ. νυνὶ τοῦτο S¹; in other MSS the text is interpolated from 1 § 7. ὁ πάντες ἐθρ. τέως, τοῦτο πέπρ. νυνὶ vulgo. ὁ πάντες ἐθρ. τότε, πέπρ. νυνὶ τοῦθ' Rosenberg. ἀπαντες ἐθρ. τοῦτο· πέπρ. νυνὶ τοῦθ' Bl (Baron).

§ 8 l. 76 [τῶν πραγμάτων] and 81 [τὰ πράγματα] Bl¹; the latter restored by Bl², cp. Aristeid i 292 Dind; both restored Bl³. || 77 τῶν om B Y (Bekker). || 79 χρήμασιν Bl.

ὑμῶν εἰς τοῦτ' ἀναβάλλεται ποιήσῃν τὰ δέοντα, p. 31
 ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν βούλεται τὰ δεινὰ, ἐξὸν ἀκούειν
 ἄλλοθι γιγνόμενα, καὶ βοηθούς ἑαυτῷ ζητεῖν,
 85 ἐξὸν νῦν ἑτέροις αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν· ὅτι γὰρ εἰς
 τοῦτο περιστήσεται τὰ πράγματα, ἐὰν τὰ παρ-
 όντα προώμεθα, σχεδὸν ἴσμεν ἅπαντες δήπου.

Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν δὴ δεῖ βοηθεῖν, εἴποι τις ἄν, 10
 πάντες ἐγνώκαμεν, καὶ βοηθήσομεν· τὸ δ' ὅπως,
 90 τοῦτο λέγε. μὴ τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι θαυμά-
 σητε, ἂν παράδοξον εἴπω τι τοῖς πολλοῖς. νομο-
 θέτας καθίσατε. ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς νομοθέταις μὴ
 θῆσθε νόμον μηδένα (εἰσὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἱκανοί), ἀλλὰ
 τοὺς εἰς τὸ παρὸν βλάπτοντας ὑμᾶς λύσατε. λέγω 11
 95 τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν, σαφῶς οὕτωςί, καὶ τοὺς
 περὶ τῶν στρατευομένων ἐνίους, ὧν οἱ μὲν τὰ στρα-
 τιωτικὰ τοῖς οἴκοι μένουσι διανέμουσι θεωρικά, οἱ
 δὲ τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας ἀθώους καθιστᾶσιν, εἴτα καὶ
 τοὺς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βουλομένους ἀθυμοτέρους
 100 ποιοῦσιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦτα λύσητε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ
 τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν ὁδὸν παράσχητ' ἀσφαλῆ,

§ 9 l. 82 ποιήσῃν MSS (Weil, Bl³): ποιῆσαι Bl¹, from Isidor
 v 20 οἱ ἀναβαλλόμενοι πρᾶξαι τὰ δέοντα ἰδεῖν βούλονται τὰ δεινὰ.
 || 86 τὰ πράγματα, ἐὰν—προώμεθα suspected by Cobet.

§ 10 l. 88 'δὴ before δεῖ possibly due to dittography, omitted
 by Pal¹ and four other MSS; cp. Dionys Hal *Ant. Rom.* ii 277,
 23' Bl. || 90 [τοῦτο]? Bl, cp. 37 § 34 τὸ δ' ὅπως ὑμεῖς σκοπεῖτε, and
 Rhet quoted by Bl¹². || 92 καθίσατε Bekker (Weil, Bl): καθι-
 στᾶτε **S** and vulgo; καθίστατε **B** etc (Voemel). || τοῖς νομοθέταις
 MSS (Weil, Bl³): om Bl¹ with schol p. 122, 24, cp. 25 § 38
 δὴ ἔτη . . ἐν δὲ τούτοις. || 93 ὑμῖν ἱκανοὶ vulgo (Weil, Bl, to avoid
 hiatus and ∪ ∪ ∪): ἱκανοὶ ὑμῖν **S** alone (Dind).

§ 11 l. 94 λέγω **S** alone (Voemel, Weil): λέγω δὲ (Bl) or δὴ (**Y**)
 vulgo. || 97 νέμουσι? Bl, cp. schol p. 123, 5, and Liban iv 820,
 who, however, in § 5 of Argument to Ol. 1 has διενέμοντο. ||
 [θεωρικά] Cobet.

- τηνικαῦτα τὸν γράψονθ' ἅ πάντες ἴσθ' ὅτι συμ-
 12 φέρει ζητεῖτε. πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα πράξαι, μὴ σκο-
 πεῖτε τίς εἰπὼν τὰ βέλτισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν
 ἀπολέσθαι βουλήσεται· οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσετε, ἄλλως 105
 τε καὶ τούτου μόνου περιγίγνεσθαι μέλλοντος,
 παθεῖν ἀδίκως τι κακὸν τὸν ταῦτ' εἰπόντα καὶ
 γράψαντα, μηδὲν δ' ὠφελῆσαι τὰ πράγματα,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἢ νῦν τὸ
 τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν φοβερώτερον ποιῆσαι. καὶ 110
 λύειν γ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νόμους δεῖ
 τούτους τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦν οἵπερ καὶ τεθήκασιν·
 13 οὐ γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον, τὴν μὲν χάριν, ἣ πᾶσαν
 p. 32 ἔβλαπτε τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς τότε θεῖσιν ὑπάρχειν,
 τὴν δ' ἀπέχθειαν, δι' ἧς ἂν ἅπαντες ἄμεινον 115
 πράξαιμεν, τῷ νῦν τὰ βέλτιστ' εἰπόντι ζημίαν
 γενέσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ταῦτ' εὐτρεπίσαι, μηδαμῶς ὧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μηδέν' ἀξιούτε τηλικούτον εἶναι
 παρ' ὑμῖν, ὥστε τοὺς νόμους τούτους παραβάντα
 μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, μηδ' οὕτως ἀνόητον, ὥστ' εἰς 120
 προὔπτον κακὸν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν.
 14 Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνῳ γ' ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν δεῖ ὧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ψήφισμ' οὐδενὸς ἀξιὸν
 ἐστίν, ἂν μὴ προσγένηται τὸ ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν τά γε
 δόξαντα προθύμως [ὑμᾶς]. εἰ γὰρ αὐτάρκη τὰ 125

§ 12 l. 109 εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν μᾶλλον ἔτ' MSS (Weil, B1³), cp. 5 § 13: μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν B1¹, cp. Isidor v 131 p. 592 B. || 112 τεθή-
 κασιν Meisterhans *Att. Inschr.* p. 152² (B1³): τεθείκασιν MSS
 (Weil, B1¹).

§ 13 l. 116 [ζημίαν] Cobet. || 119 [τούτους] Dobree, 21 § 225
 παραβάς τις τοὺς νόμους οὐ δώσει δίκην;

§ 14 l. 122 [ὧ ἄνδ. Ἀθ.] B1, to avoid hiatus. || 124 τὰ [γέ]
 Cobet. || 125 [ὑμᾶς] Cobet (B1¹), probably due to προθύμως
 (Tournier).

ψηφίσματ' ἦν, ἣ ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζειν ἃ προσήκει
 πράττειν, ἣ περὶ ὧν γραφείη διαπραξασθαι, οὐτ'
 ἂν ὑμεῖς, πολλὰ ψηφίζόμενοι, μικρὰ μᾶλλον δ'
 οὐδὲν ἐπράττετε τούτων, οὔτε Φίλιππος τοσοῦτον
 130 ὑβρίζει χρόνον· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν εἵνεκά γε ψηφι-
 σμάτων ἐδεδώκει δίκην. ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτω ταύτ' 15
 ἔχει· τὸ γὰρ πράττειν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ χειροτονεῖν
 ὕστερον ὢν τῇ τάξει, πρότερον τῇ δυνάμει καὶ
 κρείττον ἐστίν. τοῦτ' οὖν δεῖ προσεῖναι, τὰ δ'
 135 ἄλλ' ὑπάρχει· καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὰ δέοντα παρ'
 ὑμῖν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δυνάμενοι, καὶ γινῶναι
 πάντων ὑμεῖς ὀξύτατοι τὰ ῥηθέντα, καὶ πράξαι
 δὲ δυνήσεσθε νῦν, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς ποιῇτε. τίνα γὰρ 16
 χρόνον ἢ τίνα καιρὸν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ
 140 παρόντος βελτίω ζητεῖτε; ἢ πόθ' ἃ δεῖ πράξετ',
 εἰ μὴ νῦν; οὐχ ἅπαντα μὲν ἡμῶν προεἶληφε τὰ
 χωρὶ ἄνθρωπος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτης κύριος τῆς
 χώρας γενήσεται, πάντων αἰσχιστα πεισόμεθα;
 οὐχ οὕς, εἰ πολεμήσαιεν, ἐτοίμως σώσειν ὑπ-
 145 ισχνούμεθα, οὔτοι νῦν πολεμοῦσιν; οὐκ ἐχθρός; p. 33
 οὐκ ἔχων τὰ ἡμέτερα; οὐ βάρβαρος; οὐχ ὅ τι
 ἂν εἴποι τις; ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν πάντ' ἐάσαντες καὶ 17

l. 127 γραφείη **S**¹ (Weil, Bl), changed successively into γραφῇ and ἂν γραφῇ (the reading of some mss), which might stand if the principal verb were present. ἐγράφη (Sauppe, Rehdantz, Baron) is grammatically correct, but would refer to definite decrees. || 130 ἔνεκα mss.

§ 15 l. 134 [ἐστίν] Rosenberg. || 136 ὑμῖν **S** (Voemel, Bl): + εἰσὶν vulgo (Weil).

§ 16 l. 144 πολεμήσειεν ἐκεῖνος **A** suppl: πολεμήσαιεν ἐκείνῳ **Y** (Dobree). || 145 πολεμοῦσιν **S**¹ **B**¹ (Voemel, Weil, Bl): πολεμοῦνται vulgo. || 146 οὐχ ὅ τι ἂν mss ∪ ∪ ∪ (Weil, Bl³), Liban iv 355, 571, Hermog ix 34: χ ὅτι ἂν in an erasure in **S**: οὐχ ἂν Bl¹.

μόνον οὐχὶ συγκατασκευάσαντες αὐτῷ, τότε τοὺς αἰτίους οἵτινές εἰσι τούτων ζητήσομεν; οὐ γὰρ αὐτοί γ' αἴτιοι φήσομεν εἶναι, σαφῶς οἶδα τοῦτ' ¹⁵⁰ ἐγώ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις τῶν φυγόντων οὐδεὶς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν πλησίον καὶ πάντων μᾶλλον, ἥπτηνται δ' ὅμως διὰ πάντας τοὺς φυγόντας δήπου· μένειν γὰρ ἐξῆν τῷ κατ- ¹⁵⁵ ηγοροῦντι τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐποίει ἕκαστος,
 18 ἐνίκων ἄν. καὶ νῦν, οὐ λέγει τις τὰ βέλτιστα; ἀναστὰς ἄλλος εἰπάτω, μὴ τοῦτον αἰτιάσθω. ἕτερος λέγει τις βελτίω; ταῦτα ποιεῖτ' ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡδέα ταῦτα; οὐκέτι τοῦθ' ὁ ¹⁶⁰ λέγων ἀδικεῖ, πλὴν εἰ δέον εὔξασθαι παραλείπει. εὔξασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ῥάδιον, εἰς ταῦτ' ὅσα βούλεται τις ἀθροίσαντ' ἐν ὀλίγῳ· ἐλέσθαι δ', ὅταν περὶ πραγμάτων προτεθῇ σκοπεῖν, οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως εὔπορον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὰ ¹⁶⁵ βέλτιστ' ἀντὶ τῶν ἡδέων, ἂν μὴ συναμφοτέρ'

§ 17 l. 148 συγκατασκευάσαντες MSS (Weil, Bl³): κατασκευάσαντες Bl¹ with Isidor iii 219 οἱ δὲ συνδραμόντες καὶ μονονοιχὶ κατασκευάσαντες τὴν τυραννίδα. || 149 οἵτινές εἰσι vulgo (Bl²³): οἵτινες S (Voemel, Weil, Bl¹). || 150 αὐτοί vulgo (Voemel, Weil): αὐτοῖς S¹ (αὐτοῖς B F¹), Bl¹; ἑαυτοῖς (for sake of rhythm) Bl²³; cp. 10 § 19, 19 § 125, 23 § 54, Antiph iv β 1 οὐ ὁ ἀποθανὼν αὐτῷ αἴτιος. || 151 [κινδύνοις] Bl², τὰ τοῦ πολέμου inf § 20, 1 § 4, 8 § 53, cp. Isocr 4 §§ 26, 51. || 156 ἐποίει MSS (Voemel, Weil): ἐποιοῦν Benseler, to avoid hiatus: ἐποίει τοῦθ'? Bl¹, ἐποιοῦν [ἕκαστος] Bl³: ἐποίησ' ἕκαστος? Baron. || 161 . πλὴν— παραλείπει; a separate question in Bl¹.

§ 18 l. 162 μὲν γὰρ vulgo (Weil, Bl³): μὲν S Y (Voemel, Bl¹). || 163 f ἐν ὀλίγῳ most MSS (Voemel, Weil, Bl¹), + χρόνῳ A Y etc.: ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ four inferior MSS; ἐνὶ λόγῳ proposed by Brodaeus on Eur HF. 1391 (approved by Dobree and Bl³); ἐνολιγῶι and ἐνιλογῶι only differ in the interchange of ο and ι.

ἐξῆ, λαμβάνειν. εἰ δέ τις ἡμῖν ἔχει καὶ τὰ 19
 θεωρικὰ ἔαν καὶ πόρους ἐτέρους λέγειν στρατιω-
 τικούς, οὐχ οὗτος κρείττων; εἴποι τις ἄν. φήμ'
 170 ἔγωγε, εἴπερ ἔστιν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλὰ
 θαυμάζω εἴ τῷ ποτ' ἀνθρώπων ἢ γέγον' ἢ
 γενήσεται, ἂν τὰ παρόντ' ἀναλώσῃ πρὸς ἃ μὴ
 δεῖ, τῶν ἀπόντων εὐπορήσαι πρὸς ἃ δεῖ. ἀλλ',
 οἶμαι, μέγα τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑπάρχει λόγοις ἢ
 175 παρ' ἐκάστου βούλησις, διόπερ ῥᾶστον ἀπάντων
 ἔστιν αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῆσαι· ὃ γὰρ βούλεται, τοῦθ'
 ἕκαστος καὶ οἶεται, τὰ δὲ πράγματα πολλάκις
 οὐχ οὕτω πέφυκεν. ὁρᾷγ' οὖν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 20
 ναῖοι ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὅπως καὶ τὰ πράγματ' p. 34
 180 ἐνδέχεται καὶ δυνήσεσθ' ἐξιέναι καὶ μισθὸν
 ἔξετε. οὗτοι σωφρόνων οὐδὲ γενναίων ἔστιν
 ἀνθρώπων, ἐλλείποντάς τι δι' ἔνδειαν χρημάτων
 τῶν τοῦ πολέμου, εὐχερῶς τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνειδή
 φέρειν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μὲν Κορινθίους καὶ Μεγαρέας
 185 ἀρπάσαντας τὰ ὅπλα πορεύεσθαι, Φίλιππον δ'
 ἔαν πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δι' ἀπο-
 ρίαν ἐφοδίων τοῖς στρατευομένοις.

1. 167 ἐξῆ λαβεῖν preferred by Bl¹ (cp. Liban iv 779, 31).

§ 19 l. 168 [στρατιωτικούς] Cobet; Liban iv 820 has τοὺς πόρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν; στρατιωτικῶν? Bl¹. || 169 κρείττων MSS (Weil, Bl¹): κρείττον Aug 2 (κρείττον' Bl³). || [εἴποι τις ἄν] Cobet, approved by Bl¹. || 171 θαυμάζω, εἴ τῷ (Voemel, Bl¹³); 'non potest esse membrum integrum ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω; itaque delendum puto ei' Bl², cp. 9 § 63, 54 § 13.

§ 20 l. 180 ἐνδέχεται· Voemel, Franke. || 181 ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων MSS; om Bl¹. The rhetoricians vary. || 182 ἐλλείποντας vulgo (Weil, Bl³): λείποντας S alone (Bl¹). || 187 στρατευομένοις Tournier.

- 21 Καὶ ταῦτ' οὐχ ἵν' ἀπέχθωμαί τισιν ὑμῶν, τὴν ἄλλως προήρημαι λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἄφρων οὐδ' ἀτυχήs εἰμ' ἐγώ, ὥστ' ἀπεχθάνεσθαι βού- 190
 λεσθαι μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν νομίζων· ἀλλὰ δικαίου πολίτου κρίνω τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων σωτηρίαν ἀντὶ τῆs ἐν τῷ λέγειν χάριτος αἰρεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν λέγοντας ἀκούω, ὥσπερ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὓς ἐπαινοῦσιν 195
 μὲν οἱ παριόντες ἅπαντες, μιμούνται δ' οὐ πάνυ, τούτῳ τῷ ἔθει καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆs πολιτείας χρῆσθαι, τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐκείνον, τὸν Νικίαν, 200
 22 τὸν ὁμόθυμον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ, τὸν Περικλέα. ἐξ οὗ δ' οἱ διερωτῶντες ὑμᾶs οὗτοι πεφῆνασι ῥήτορες 200
 “τί βούλεσθε; τί γράψω; τί ὑμῖν χαρίσωμαι;” προπέποται τῆs παραντίχ' ἡδονῆs καὶ χάριτος τὰ τῆs πόλεως πράγματα, καὶ τοιαυτὶ συμβαίνει, καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων πάντα καλῶs ἔχει, τὰ δ'
 23 ὑμέτερ' αἰσχυρῶs. καίτοι σκέψασθ' ὧ ἄνδρες 205
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃ τις ἂν κεφάλαι' εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τῶν τ' ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ὑμῶν.
 p. 35 ἔσται δὲ βραχυs καὶ γνώριμος ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος· οὐ

§ 21 l. 188 τισιν [ὑμῶν]? Bl¹, Prooem 28 εἰ καὶ τισι μέλλω ἀπεχθήσεσθαι. || 189 οὐ γὰρ: οὐχ Bl¹, 18 § 11, 21 § 143, 34 § 2, etc. || 191 ὠφελεῖν vulgo: -ῆσαι A, -ῆσειν? Bl. || 194 γὰρ vulgo: om S alone (Weil); ‘tres hae lectiones (192) κρίνων (Bekker's *Anecd.*) . . καὶ τοὺς . . (195) ἀκούων (S¹) coniunctae stare poterunt; sed constructione dura atque molesta’ Bl. || 199 τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ A suppl and Aristeid ii 349 Dind, Liban iv 334 ὁ σὸς ὁμ., 309 τὸν ὁμ. τὸν ἐμόν, (Bl) to avoid ∪∪∪: ἐμαύτῳ vulgo (Weil).

§ 22 l. 201 τί βούλεσθε γράψω ἵν' ὑμῖν χαρίσωμαι; Cobet. χαρίσομαι S. || 202 τῆs παραντίχ' ἡδονῆs καὶ χάριτος vulgo (Bl³): τῆs παραντίκα χάριτος S A B Y ∪∪∪∪ (Weil); [] Bl¹.

γὰρ ἄλλοτρίοις ὑμῖν χρωμένοις παραδείγμασιν,
 210 ἄλλ' οἰκείοις ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εὐδαίμοσιν
 ἔξεστι γενέσθαι. ἐκείνοι τοίνυν, οἷς οὐκ ἐχαρί- 24
 ζονθ' οἱ λέγοντες οὐδ' ἐφίλουν αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ
 ὑμᾶς οὗτοι νῦν, πέντε μὲν καὶ τέτταράκοντ' ἔτη
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἥρξαν ἐκόντων, πλείω δ' ἢ μύρια
 215 τάλαντ' εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγον, ὑπήκουεν
 δ' ὁ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔχων αὐτοῖς βασιλεύς,
 ὥσπερ ἐστὶ προσήκον βάρβαρον Ἑλλησι, πολλὰ
 δὲ καὶ καλὰ καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες ἔστησαν
 τρόπαι' αὐτοὶ στρατευόμενοι; μόνοι δ' ἀνθρώπων
 220 κρείττω τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις δόξαν τῶν φθονούν-
 των κατέλιπον. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν 25
 ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι· ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν
 θεάσασθ' ὅποιοι, ἔν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ τοῖς
 ἰδίοις. δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοίνυν οἰκοδομήματα καὶ
 225 κάλλη τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα κατεσκεύασαν ἡμῖν
 ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἀναθημάτων, ὥστε
 μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι·
 ἰδίᾳ δ' οὕτω σώφρονες ἦσαν καὶ σφόδρ' ἐν τῷ
 τῆς πολιτείας ἡθελί μόνοντες, ὥστε τὴν Ἀριστείδου 26
 230 καὶ τὴν Μιλτιάδου καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν οἰκίαν,
 εἴ τις ἄρ' οἶδεν ὑμῶν ὅποια ποτ' ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῆς
 τοῦ γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὖσαν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς
 περιουσίαν ἐπράττετ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως,

§ 23 l. 211 ἔξεστιν Bl.

§ 24 l. 212 [αὐτοῖς] ὥσπερ [ὑμᾶς] οὗτοι [νῦν om O etc] Bl¹ with *Rhet.* viii 531 and schol p. 130, 7. || 215 ἀνήγαγον S Y etc : συνήγαγον marg S and vulgo, with Aristeid i 708.

§ 25 l. 228 ἐν om S ; σφόδρα τῷ—ἡθελί ἐμμένοντες Sauppe.

§ 26 l. 231 [ὑμῶν]? Bl.

ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν αὖξιν ἕκαστος ᾤετο δεῖν. ἐκ
δὲ τοῦ τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ πιστῶς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ²³⁵
θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς, τὰ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἴσως διοικεῖν,

27 μεγάλην εἰκότως ἐκτῆσαντ' εὐδαιμονίαν. τότε
μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἶχε τὰ πράγματ'
ἐκείνοις, χρωμένοις οἷς εἶπον προστάταις· νυνὶ
δὲ πῶς ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστῶν τούτων τὰ ²⁴⁰

p. 36 πράγματ' ἔχει; ἄρά γ' ὁμοίως ἢ παραπλησίως;
οἷς—τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ, πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων εἰπεῖν,
ἀλλ' ὅσης ἅπαντες ὁρᾶτ' ἐρημίας ἐπειλημμένοι,
[καὶ] Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἀπολωλότων, Θηβαίων
δ' ἀσχόλων ὄντων, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδενὸς ὄντος ²⁴⁵
ἀξιόχρεω περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἡμῖν ἀντιτάξασθαι,
ἐξὸν ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν

28 καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δίκαια βραβεύειν, ἀπεστερή-
μεθα μὲν χώρας οἰκείας, πλείω δ' ἢ χίλια καὶ
πεντακόσια τάλαντ' ἀνηλώκαμεν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον, ²⁵⁰
οὓς δ' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα,
εἰρήνης οὔσης ἀπολωλέκασιν οὔτοι, ἐχθρὸν δ'
ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τηλικούτου ἡσκήκαμεν. ἢ φρα-
σάτω τις ἐμοὶ παρελθών, πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἰσχυρὸς

29 γέγονεν ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν Φίλιππος. ἀλλ' ²⁵⁵
ὦταν, εἰ ταῦτα φαύλως, τά γ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει
νῦν ἄμεινον ἔχει. καὶ τί ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ἔχοι; τὰς

ll. 239 f ἡμῖν δὲ πῶς—χρηστῶν τῶν νῦν Cobet.

§ 27 l. 240 τούτων **A Y**, Hermog (Bl, and Weil, who suggests
πῶς ὑπὸ τῶν χρ. τούτων ἡμῖν): τῶν νῦν other mss. || 241 ἢ **A Y**
(19 §§ 63, 307): καὶ **S** and vulgo (Weil), 19 § 196, Isocr 7 § 78,
Thuc i 140, 2. || 242 οἷς **S** etc; om Sauppe: καὶ (v.l. οἷς καὶ) **A Y**:
οἱ Dind: ἐκείνοις; Funkhaenel. || 244 [καὶ] Dobree (Bl¹). || [μὲν]
Bl¹, to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪. || 247 ἐξὸν Dionys, Bekker's *Anecd.* p. 136
(Bl): + δὲ mss (Weil). || [ἡμῖν]? Tournier. || [ἀσφαλῶς]? Bl. ||

§ 28 l. 255 [ἢ—αὐτῶν] Bl¹.

ἐπάλξεις ἅς κονιῶμεν, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἅς ἐπι-
 σκευάζομεν, καὶ κρήνας, καὶ λήρους; ἀποβλέψατε
 260 δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ταῦτα πολιτευομένους, ὧν οἱ μὲν
 ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι γεγόνασιν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀδόξων
 ἔντιμοι, ἔνιοι δὲ τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας τῶν δημοσίων
 οἰκοδομημάτων σεμνοτέρας εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι,
 ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐλάττω γέγονεν, τοσούτῳ
 265 τὰ τούτων ἡϋξῆται.

Τί δὴ τὸ πάντων αἴτιον τούτων, καὶ τί δὴ 30
 ποθ' ἅπαντ' εἶχε καλῶς τότε, καὶ νῦν οὐκ
 ὀρθῶς; ὅτι τότε μὲν πράττειν καὶ στρατεύεσθαι
 τολμῶν αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος δεσπότης τῶν πολιτευο-
 270 μένων ἦν καὶ κύριος αὐτὸς ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν,
 κάγαπητὸν ἦν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστῳ
 καὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς κάγαθοῦ τινος μεταλαβεῖν.
 νῦν δὲ τοῦναντίον κύριοι μὲν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι 31
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἅπαντα πράττεται. p. 37
 275 ὑμεῖς δ', ὁ δῆμος, ἐκνενευρισμένοι καὶ περιηρημένοι
 χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους, ἐν ὑπηρέτου καὶ προσ-
 θήκης μέρει γεγέννησθε, ἀγαπῶντες ἐὰν μεταδιδῶσι

§ 30 l. 268 τότε μὲν Hermog iii 266, and [13] § 31 (Bl + πράττειν conj by Rehdantz, cp. § 33, 2 § 15, 4 § 9 etc; + πράττων EMüller): τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ MSS (Weil, who suggests τότε μὲν πονῶν καὶ cp. 2 § 23), τὸ μὲν πρότερον καὶ Sauppe (Dind omits καὶ). || 269 τῶν πολιτευομένων MSS (Weil, Bl³), cp. 23 § 209: om Bl¹ with [13] § 31 and Hermog. || 270 αὐτὸς Weil, Bl³, [13] § 31 and Hermog. || ἀπάντων MSS (Weil, Bl³): πάντων Bl¹ to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪. || [τῶν ἀγαθῶν] Bl¹ with [13] § 31. || 271 παρ' ἐκείνου? Bl, cp. [13] § 31. || 272 μεταλαβεῖν MSS (Weil, Bl¹): μεταλαμβάνειν [13] § 31 (Bl²³), cp. μεταδιδῶσι.

§ 31 l. 274 πράττεται MSS (Weil, Bl³): om S in [13] § 31 (Bl¹). || 275 καὶ MSS (Weil, Bl³): om Bl¹ with *Rhet.* ii 232. || 276 καὶ (after χρήματα) om S F B O (Voemel, Weil, Bl³); 'aut utrolique addenda coniunctio, aut demenda' Bl. || 277 γεγέννησθε om Bl¹ with Aristeid and [13] § 31. || μεταδιδῶσι S etc; μεταδῶσι AY and Dionys.

- θεωρικῶν ὑμῖν, ἣ Βοηδρόμια πέμψωσιν οὔτοι, καὶ
 τὸ πάντων ἀνδρειότατον, τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν
 χάριν προσοφείλετε. οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει ²⁸⁰
 καθεῖρξαντες ὑμᾶς, ἐπάγουσ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ τιθα-
 32 σεύουσιν χειροῖθεις αὐτοῖς ποιοῦντες. ἔστι δ'
 οὐδέποτ', οἶμαι, μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν
 μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα πράττοντας· ὅποι' ἅττα γὰρ ἂν
 τὰπιτηδεύματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἦ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη ²⁸⁵
 καὶ τὸ φρόνημ' ἔχειν. ταῦτα μὰ τὴν Δῆμητρ' οὐκ
 ἂν θαυμάσαιμ' εἰ μείζων εἰπόντι μοι γένοιτο παρ'
 ὑμῶν βλάβη τῶν πεποιηκότων αὐτὰ γενέσθαι·
 οὐδὲ γὰρ παρρησία περὶ πάντων αἰὲ παρ' ὑμῖν
 ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὅτι καὶ νῦν γέγονεν θαυμάζω. ²⁹⁰
 33 Ἐὰν οὖν ἀλλὰ νῦν γ' ἔτ' ἀπαλλαγέντες
 τούτων τῶν ἐθῶν ἐβελήσητε στρατεύεσθαι τε καὶ
 πράττειν ἀξίως ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῖς περιουσίαις
 ταῖς οἴκοι ταύταις ἀφορμαῖς ἐπὶ τᾶξω τῶν
 ἀγαθῶν χρήσησθε, ἴσως ἂν ἴσως ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- ²⁹⁵
 ναῖοι τέλειόν τι καὶ μέγα κτήσασισθ' ἀγαθόν, καὶ

1. 278 θεωρικῶν **S B**¹ etc (Voemel, Weil, Bl³): θεωρικὸν **A**¹, corr **B F**, Dionys (whose ms **M** has the alteration -ῶν), Bl¹; θεωρικὰ Hermog iii 234, vi 254. || Βοηδρόμια **S B O** etc: βοῖδια ancient variant found in Dionys, Hermog and margins of **S B O**; both readings are attested by the schol. || 279 ἀνδρειότατον **S** alone, and schol.: ἀνανδρότατον **O** etc, margin of **S**, and Dionys; margin of **B** has γράφεται καὶ ἀνδρειότατον εἰρωνικῶς. || 282 αὐτοῖς mss (Bl¹³): ἐαυτοῖς Bl², for rhythm.

§ 32 l. 287 εἰπόντι μοι Pal 2, Dionys (Benseler, Weil, Bl): εἰπόντι ἐμοὶ **S** and vulgo, with hiatus. || 287 f παρ' ὑμῶν most mss (Weil, Bl³): om **O** (Bl¹). || 288 ἡ τῶν **S** (+ πεποιηκότων αὐτὰ ἐκάστω Dionys).

§ 33 l. 291 [γ' ἔτ'] Cobet, Aristoph *Av.* 1598. || 292 τε om **A Y** (Bl). || 295 χρήσησθε most mss (Voemel, Weil, Bl³): χρῆσθαι **A O Y**, GHSchafer and Cobet (Bl¹). || 296 τι [καὶ] μέγα Bl³, for rhythm; but this involves ∪ ∪ ∪.

τῶν τοιούτων λημμάτων ἀπαλλαγείητε, ἃ τοῖς
 ἀσθενούσι παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν σιτίοις διδομένοις
 ἔοικε. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖν' οὐτ' ἰσχὺν ἐντίθησιν
 300 οὐτ' ἀποθνήσκειν ἐᾷ· καὶ ταῦθ', ἃ νέμεσθε νῦν
 ὑμεῖς, οὐτε τοσαύτ' ἐστὶν ὥστ' ὠφέλειαν ἔχειν
 τινὰ διαρκῆ, οὐτ' ἀπογνόντας ἄλλο τι πράττειν
 ἐᾷ, ἀλλ' ἔστι ταῦτα τὴν ἐκάστου ῥαθυμίαν ὑμῶν
 ἐπαυξάνοντα. οὐκοῦν σὺ μισθοφορὰν λέγεις ; 34
 305 φήσει τις. καὶ παραχρήμά γε τὴν αὐτὴν σύν- p. 38
 ταξιν ἀπάντων ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα τῶν κοι-
 νῶν ἕκαστος τὸ μέρος λαμβάνων, ὅτου δέοιθ' ἡ
 πόλις, τοῦθ' ὑπάρχοι. ἔξεστιν ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν·
 οἴκοι μένων βελτίων, τοῦ δι' ἔνδειαν ἀνάγκη τι
 310 ποιεῖν αἰσχρὸν ἀπηλλαγμένος. συμβαίνει τι

1. 298 [ἀσθενούσι] FAWolf, Cobet, Bl³ (and Dind, with alternative τοῖς τοῖς ἀσθενούσι). || [διδόμενοις] Cobet, Bl³. Cp. (a) Prooem 53 ὥσπερ ἀσθενούντα τὸν δῆμον διάγουσιν, ὁμοιότατα . . τοῖς παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν σιτίοις διδόντες ὑμῖν. (b) Philostr. V. *Apoll.* 7, 26 οὐδὲν εἰκότα τοῖς τῶν ἱατρῶν σιτίοις· καὶ γὰρ ἰσχὺν ἐντίθησι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν οὐκ ἐάσει. (c) Lucian *de mercede cond.* 5 ὡς ὁ καλὸς που ῥήτωρ ἔφη, τοῖς τῶν νοσούντων σιτίοις εἰκότα λαμβάνουσι. (a) and (b) refer to the physicians as well as the patients, and point to some such reading as ἃ τοῖς (παρὰ) τῶν ἱατρῶν σιτίοις ἔοικε, preferred by Bl³. (c), like the context in the present passage, makes no mention of the physicians, and suggests ἃ τοῖς τῶν ἀσθενούντων σιτίοις ἔοικε, preferred by Bl², on the supposition that the text had been interpolated from (a). Voemel regards τοῖς as virtually doing duty for τοῖς τοῖς which is not good Gk., cp. 18 § 45 τῶν ἐτέρων κινδύνων = τῶν κινδύνων τῶν ἐτέρων : he also insists on retaining ἀσθενούσι as the most emphatic word in the passage. || 301 ὥστε τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἔχειν διαρκῆ? Bl to avoid ∪ ∪ ∪, cp. Aristeid i 579, ii 615. || 303 ταῦτα <τὰ> Dobree, 16 § 24 τοῦτο <τὸ>.

§ 34 l. 308 τοῦθ' ὑπάρχοι S : τοῦτο παρέχη (or παρέχοι) Dionys v 609 R ; εἰς τοῦτο ἕτοιμος ὑπάρχοι v.l. ; εἰς τοῦθ' ἑτοίμως χρήσιμον αὐτὸν παρέχοι vulgo. || 309 μὲν ὦν Tournier. || [βελτίων] Dind : εἰ βελτ. vulgo ; βελτ. εἰ Dionys.

τοιοῦτον οἶον καὶ τὰ νῦν· στρατιώτης αὐτὸς
 ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων λημμάτων,
 ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐστι
 τις ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ὑμῶν· ὅς' οὗτος ἀτάκτως
 νῦν λαμβάνων οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, ταῦτ' ἐν ἴσῃ τάξει ³¹⁵
 λαμβανέτω πάντ' ἐφορῶν καὶ διοικῶν ἃ χρῆ
 35 πράττεσθαι. ὅλως δ' οὔτ' ἀφελὼν οὔτε προσ-
 θεὶς πλὴν μικρῶν, τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀνελὼν εἰς τάξιν
 ἡγαγον τὴν πόλιν, τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ λαβεῖν, τοῦ
 στρατεύεσθαι, τοῦ δικάζειν, τοῦ ποιεῖν ὅτου θ' ³²⁰
 ἡλικίαν ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ ὅτου καιρὸς εἴη, τάξιν
 ποιήσας. οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπου μηδὲν ἐγὼ ποιοῦσιν
 τὰ τῶν ποιούντων εἶπον ὡς δεῖ νέμειν, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς
 μὲν ἀργεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν κάπορεῖν, ὅτι δ' οἱ τοῦ
 δεινὸς νικῶσι ξένοι, ταῖτα πυνθάνεσθαι· ταῦτα ³²⁵
 36 γὰρ νυνὶ γίγνεται. καὶ οὐχὶ μέμφομαι τὸν
 ποιοῦντά τι τῶν δεόντων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιῶ πράττειν ταῦτ' ἐφ'
 οἷς ἐτέρους τιμᾶτε, καὶ μὴ παραχωρεῖν ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς τάξεως, ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι ³³⁰

1. 316 λαμβανέτω vulgo (Bl³): λαμβάνων **S A B** etc (Weil, Bl¹). || [ἃ χρῆ πράττεσθαι]? Bl.

§ 35 l. 318 πλὴν μικρῶν **O**, and corrected **S B** etc (taken with οὔτ' ἀφελὼν οὔτε προσθεὶς) Voemel, Weil, Bl², cp. 21 § 189 and [Xen] *Rep. Ath.* 3 § 8 πλὴν εἰ κατὰ μικρόν τι οἶόν τε τὸ μὲν ἀφελεῖν τὸ δὲ προσθεῖναι: πλὴν μικρὸν **S¹ B¹** etc (with ἀνελὼν) Bekker, Sauppe, Dind; πλὴν μικρῶ Dionys (with ἀνελὼν) Bl¹³. || 320 ὅτου θ' ἡλικίαν (Bl³): τοῦθ' ὅτι καθ' ἡλικίαν mss (Weil, Bl¹), a phrase open to suspicion owing to its three short syllables and its diffuseness of form; probably due to **στουεῖνῆλικίαν** being altered into **τουεοτικαθηλικίαν**. || 321 [τάξιν ποιήσας] Bl¹. || 322 ἐγὼ ποιοῦσιν **S B O**, ἐγὼ ποιοῦσι Weil: ποιοῦσιν ἐγὼ **Y**. || 324 ὅτι: ὅ τι Frohberger *Philol.* 29 (1870) 633.

τῆς ἀρετῆς μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν κινδύνων
κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον.

Σχεδὸν εἴρηχ' ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν· ὑμεῖς δ'
ἔλοισθ' ὅ τι καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἅπασι συνοίσειν p. 39
335 ὑμῖν μέλλει.

§ 36 l. 331 [τῆς ἀρετῆς] Cobet; but cp. 18 § 173 τὴν τῆς
εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον. . The order of the text is
due to a desire to avoid τῆς τάξεως τῆς ἀρετῆς.

NOTES ON THE FIRST PHILIPPIC (OR. IV)

§ 1. 'THE Exordium of the First Philippic agrees in most essential particulars with the beginning of the first in the collection (of Prooemia); but above one-half of the latter is wholly omitted in the Exordium of the real oration; only a part of it is, in substance, though in different words, afterwards introduced into the latter part of the speech (§§ 2, 38). Now, whoever shall read this first Prooemium will at once perceive that the first few sentences are so general as to be capable of being used for almost any speech delivered at any time; and that the rest consists of topics which might be used at any time when affairs were going on badly. It is quite plain, then, that the Exordium was intended for pretty general use, and that part of it was used as an Exordium, part introduced in the course of the oration, and the rest never used at all.'—Brougham's 'Dissertation on the Eloquence of the Ancients,' vol. vii p. 35 of his *Works* ed. 1872. Cp. Blass *Attische Beredsamkeit* III i² pp. 78, 301, 326.

The earliest extant example of a similar Exordium is the parody in Aristoph. *Eccl.* 151 ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἕτερον ἂν τῶν ἡθάρων | λέγειν τὰ βέλτισθ', ἢν' ἐκαθήμην ἡσυχος· | νῦν δ' οὐκ ἐάσω. The present Exordium is a highly condensed version of that in Isocr. *Archidamus* 6 § 2 ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν τις τῶν εἰσισμένων ἐν ὑμῖν ἀγορεύειν ἀξίως ἦν τῆς πόλεως εἰρηκώς, πολλὴν ἂν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον· νῦν δ' ὁρῶν. ., ἀνέστην ἀποφανούμενος ἃ γινώσκω περὶ αὐτῶν (cp. Hermogenes περὶ ἰδεῶν ii pp. 320, 413 in Spengel's *Ilhetores Græci*).

1. εἰ μὲν κτλ. The period falls into two portions, beginning with εἰ μὲν and ἐπειδὴ δέ, each containing a protasis and an apodosis. The first protasis, again, is divided into two parts, each containing a protasis (εἰ μὲν ἤρεσκε— and εἰ δὲ μή), and an apodosis (ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον and τότ' ἂν—λέγειν). Cp. 33 § 25, and Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* §§ 510, 511, ed. 1889.

προὔτ(θετ(ο), 'if any new subject *were being proposed* for debate.' The protasis (no less than the apodosis) here refers to the present time, the act of announcing the subject being regarded as continuing throughout the debate; Isocr. 8 § 15 παρελήλυθα . . ἀποφανούμενος ἃ τυγχάνω γινώσκων . . περὶ ὧν οἱ πρυτάνεις προτιθέασιν, Xen. *Mem.* iv 2, 3 τῆς πόλεως λόγον προτιθείσης. Cp. 3 § 18 ὅταν περὶ πραγμάτων προτεθῇ σκοπεῖν

18 § 273, 24 § 46, 25 § 9 *προτίθετε* (abs.), Thuc. iii 38, 1 τῶν *προθέντων* αὐθις *περὶ* Μυτιληναίων λέγειν, Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* 44 § 2 (οἱ πρόεδροι) ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖ χρηματίζειν *προτιθέασιν*. On the order of business at meetings of the *Ecclēsia*, see Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* i 324² f = 291 Engl. ed. *προϋτίθετο* has been proposed (by Dindorf), but in good Greek this would have been expressed by *προϋκειτο*, cp. Aristoph. *Eccl.* 401 *περὶ σωτηρίας προκειμένου*.

2. **ἐπισχών** (= ἐπέσχον ἂν . . καὶ . .): used absolutely as in 14 § 5 and Thuc. vi 33 ἐπισχίσω. ἂν: here placed after the first word of the apodosis, to denote its hypothetical character, and afterwards repeated with ἦγον and ἐπειρώμην (Goodwin *MT.* § 223). ἕως . . ἀπεφάναντο: Plato *Gorg.* 506 B ἡδέως ἂν τούτῳ ἔτι διελεγόμην, ἕως αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἀπέδωκα ῥήσιν. Goodwin *MT.* § 613, 2.

3. τῶν εἰωθότων: sc. γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι or λέγειν (Lysias 31 § 2), or ἐν ὑμῖν ἀγορεύειν (Isocr. 6 § 2). γνώμην: without the Art. after ἀποφαίνεσθαι, as in [13] § 11, 18 § 189, 19 § 156, 51 § 18, [59] § 46, Xen. *Anab.* i 6, 9.

5. **τότ(ε)**: emphatic.

6. ἃ γινώσκω = τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην. ὑπέρ = περί, as in §§ 10, 16, 42, 46; 2 §§ 1, 3; 6 § 35 μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μὴδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων, 1 § 5 οὐ περὶ δόξης οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μέρους χώρας, 18 §§ 17, 76; 21 § 24 (cp. Sauppe *Epistola Critica ad Hermannnum* p. 36).

9. **συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν**: substituted for μετὰ τούτους δοκεῖν λέγειν of *Prooem.* 1 p. 1418. ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου: here (as in § 2 and 24 § 90) the *terminus ex quo* is kept in view, instead of the *terminus in quo*, expressed by ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι in 9 § 5. Cp. 18 § 203 and 20 § 1411 ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου.

10. τὰ δέονθ' οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν: echoed in ἔδει βουλευέσθαι. The result is a more pointed sentence than that in *Prooem.* 1 εἰ μὲν οὖν εἶχε καλῶς τὰ πράγματα, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει συμβουλεύειν. In the text *συνεβούλευσαν* refers to past time, νῦν ἔδει to present; Goodwin *MT.* §§ 410, 423, and p. 407.

§ 2 l. 11. οὐκ ἀθυμητέον: echoed by ἐνθυμητέον in § 3 l. 21.

For the sense of the context cp. *Prooem.* 30 οὐκ ἀθυμητέον τοῖς γεγενημένοις· ὁ γάρ ἐστι τῶν παρεληλυθότων χερίστον, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν τούτ' ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ὅτι οὐδὲν ὑμῶν τῶν δέοντων ποιούντων κακῶς ἔχει τὰ πράγματα· ἐπεὶ εἴ γε πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει πρᾶττόντων οὕτως εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι βελτίω, *Phil.* iii Or. 9 § 5 τὸ χερίστον ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει κτλ., 1 § 4. Hermogenes iii 359 quotes the text among exx. of ἐννοιαί . . παράδοξοι καὶ βαθεῖαι καὶ βίαιοι. Quintil. vi 5, 7 *laudatur*

consilium Demosthenis, quod, cum suaderet bellum Atheniensibus parum id prospere expertis, nihil adhuc factum esse ratione monstrat; poterat enim emendari negligentia: at si nihil esset erratum, melioris in posterum spei non erat ratio. Bacon *Novum Organum* i xciv sequitur ratio omnium maxima ad faciendam spem; nempe ex erroribus temporis praeteriti et viarum adhuc tentatarum. optima enim est ea reprehensio quam de statu civili haud prudenter administrato quispiam his verbis complexus est (then follows a paraphrase of this or the parallel passage).

13. τοῖς—πράγμασιν: Xen. *Anab.* i 3, 3 χαλεπῶς φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν. οὐδ(έ) repeats with emphasis the preceding οὐ, 15 § 14.

14. αὐτῶν: dependent on εἰ, cp. 1 § 4.

16. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; rhetorical question, as in §§ 20, 25, 34; 3 § 30; 6 §§ 20, 24, 31; 8 § 7; 9 §§ 22, 37.

17. ποιοῦντων: practically synonymous with πραττόντων, cp. § 5 οὐδὲν ἂν ὦν . . πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν.

19. προσῆκε: sc. πράττειν. For the idiomatic use of Impf. with reference to present time cp. 8 § 67; 19 §§ 178, 257.

20. γενέσθαι: Aor. after ἐλπὶς ἦν (Goodwin *MT.* § 136), as in 1 § 14, 9 § 5, *Prooem.* 30 and 38 (Karlowa *Progr.* 1883 p. 20).

§ 3 l. 20. ἔπειτα(α): as often, without δέ, in contrast to μέν in § 2. Cp. § 34, 2 § 1, 6 § 3, 9 § 9. δέ is added, however, in 22 § 17, [42] § 1, 55 § 22. Instances of both uses are found in Thucydides. (Karlowa l.c. p. 13.)

21. ἐνθυμητέον: sc. ὑμῖν. For the general sense compare Thuc. i 42 ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ νεώτερός τις παρὰ πρεσβυτέρων αὐτὰ μαθών. καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ — ἀναμιμνησκομένοις, 'whether by report from others, or by remembrance in the case of those who have personal knowledge'; *et si qui ex aliis auditis et quicumque ipsi experti reminiscimini* (Voemel).

ἀκούειν and εἰδέναι are often contrasted, as in 20 § 55, Isocr. 5 § 42; 12 §§ 168, 267, Isaeus 6 §§ 11, 64; 7 § 28.

22. ἀναμιμνησκομένοις: of personal reminiscence of the past, founded on actual experience. Cp. Isocr. 8 § 12 θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μηκέτι μνημονεύουσι, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων, εἰ μηδενὸς ἀκηκόασιν, and Lycurgus § 93 τίς γὰρ οὐ μέμνηται τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ τῶν νεωτέρων οὐκ ἀκήκοε; (Sauppe).

ἥλίκην . . ὥς καλῶς. In Greek (as in Latin) Relatives (and Interrogatives) can be set side by side without a conjunction. Cp. (after ἵνα εἰδῇτε) 24 § 39 παρ' οἴους νόμους οἷον οὗτος εἰσήνεγκεν, 19 § 61 οἷων ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν οἷων ἔτυχον, and ib. § 63, 20 § 93, 21 § 143, 23 § 107. See also § 26 l. 322. In English we either insert a conjunction (*and* or *and yet*), or make the first clause subordinate to the second.

23. ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, 'not long ago,' without ἐστίν. Cp. Plato *Rep.* 452 c and Isocr. 5 § 47 οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ, also Thuc. i 6, 2 and 4.

24. προσηκόντως, in a manner true to the best traditions of Athens; 18 § 203 f ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων κτλ. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖτε. Cp. 2 § 24, 6 § 8, 9 § 45, 15 §§ 22, 30; 16 § 15, Isocr. 4 §§ 52, 53. Aristotle (*Rhet.* i 9, 31) mentions among topics for encomium ὅσα κατὰ τὸ προσήκον, οἷον εἰ ἄξια τῶν προγόνων καὶ τῶν προϋπηργμένων.

26. πόλεμον: either the Corinthian War, begun in 395-4 B.C. (18 § 96, 20 § 52; Grote c. 74), or the more recent Boeotian War, begun in 378 (Grote c. 77). The latter is more probable, as is shown by ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, and by the parallel passage in 2 § 24 Λακεδαιμονίοις . . ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων ἀντήρατε, with its apparent reference to the rights of independence guaranteed by the peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.), but violated by the Spartan seizure of the Cadmeia in 383.

27. ἔδητ(ε) . . καὶ θεάσησθε: cp. 2 § 6 θεωρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν, 6 § 33 ὁρᾶτε καὶ εὖ εἰδήτε, 8 § 18 ὁρᾶτε καὶ λογίζεσθε, 18 § 248 εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακώς, 252 σκέψασθε καὶ θεωρήσατε, 19 § 154 ἐγνώκειν καὶ προεωρῶμην, 20 § 118 ἐνθυμῆσθαι καὶ ὁρᾶν, and below § 13 ἐγνωκότων καὶ πεπεισμένων. The object of this combination of synonyms, which is extremely common in Demosthenes, especially in verbs of *seeing* and *knowing*, is to bring the thought before the audience with greater force and clearness (cp. Rehdantz *Index* pp. 13-6⁴). ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι is here interposed, as in 1 §§ 12, 14; 23 § 29. It is rarely placed *after* both synonyms, as in 8 § 18, 23 § 122.

28. φυλαττομένοις: contrasted with ἂν ὀλιγορῇτε. The same thought is more symmetrically expressed in *Prooem.* 43 οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε φυλαττομένοις οὕτω δεινὸν ὥστ' ἀφύλακτον εἶναι, οὐτ' ὀλιγορούσιν ἀπροσδόκητον παθεῖν.

30. οἷον ἂν . . βούλοισθε (Goodwin *MT.* § 557), not βούλῃσθε (ib. § 532), as in § 6 οὗς ἂν ὁρώσι. In the latter case, ἂν coalesces with the relative, giving it the sense *whichever, of whatsoever kind*; in the former, it belongs to the verb alone.

33. τούτου: Philip. τῇ is not repeated before τούτου, any more than before τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, as these genitives are closely connected with νῦν and τότε respectively. 21 § 80 τὰ μὲν δὴ τότε ὑβρίσματα τούτων (Blass).

34. (κατὰ) μηδὲν φροντίζειν (ἐκείνων) ὧν (φροντίζειν) ἐχρῆν.

§ 4 l. 34. εἰ δέ τις . . οἶεται . . ὀρθῶς μὲν οἶεται κτλ. : for this type of sentence cp. § 29, 2 § 22, 8 § 48, 20 § 25.

36. πλῆθος—δυνάμεως, 'the magnitude of the force now at his command.'

37. τὰ χωρία : 3 § 16, enumerated in l. 40 and in 1 §§ 9, 12.

38. ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει, 'lost to (not by) the city,' 18 § 107.

39. μέντοι : after μέν, as in 3 § 2 ; 8 §§ 40, 49 ; 9 § 20.

40. Πύδναν . . Ποτειδαίαν . . Μεθώνην : secured for Athens by her general Timotheus (Dinarchus 1 § 14) in 364 B.C. (Grote c. 79, vii 263). *Pydna* was captured by Philip late in 357 B.C. ; *Potidaea* early in 356 B.C. ; and *Methone* late in 353 B.C. See Introduction.

41. τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, 'that region,' the shores of the Thermaic Gulf ; 20 § 77. οἰκείον goes with εἵχομεν, and κύκλῳ with πάντα. Isocr. 15 § 107 (of the capture of Potidaea, etc., by Timotheus) ὦν ληφθεισῶν ἅπας ὁ τόπος ὁ περιέχων οἰκεῖος ἡμαγκάσθη τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι.

42. μετ' ἐκείνου, 'on his side,' 'leagued with him' ; § 8, Thuc. iii 56, 2, vi 88, 5, Isocr. 4 § 161, 6 § 62.

43. ἑθνῶν : Thessalians, Paeonians, Illyrians, and other tribes in Macedonia or Thrace ; 1 § 23. αὐτονομούμενα καλέυθερ(α) : implying complete independence, internal and external ; 1 § 23 ; 7 §§ 30, 32 ; 18 § 305.

44. οἰκείως : φιλικῶς (schol. Thuc. vi 57) ; cp. § 8 l. 77.

§ 5 l. 44. εἰ . . ἔσχε . . , ἂν . . ἔπραξεν : Goodwin *MT*. §§ 410, 413 ; 'if he had conceived this idea.'

47. ἐπιτειχίσματα—χώρας, 'fortresses to infest (or menace) his country.' 15 § 12 τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιτείχισμα, 8 § 66 (Dat.), 18 § 71 (ἐπί with Acc.), ib. § 87 (κατά with Gen.), Thuc. i 122, 1 ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ, vii 18, 5 ; 28, 3 ; ib. i 141 ἐπιτείχισις ; vi 91, 6 ; 93, 2. Cp. 19 § 219 ὁρμητήριον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. ἔρρημον ὄντα : sc. τινα, cp. 2 § 5 διεξιόντα.

48. πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν : πράττειν and ποιεῖν are combined in §§ 2, 7, 20, 49 ; also in 3 § 15, 8 § 2, 9 §§ 5, 15, 17 ; 18 §§ 62, 246 ; 19 §§ 102, 106, 270 ; 23 §§ 57, 108. Strictly speaking, ποιεῖν means 'to bring about certain results,' 'to carry out particular measures,' *facere*, *auctorem esse ut aliquid sit vel eveniat* ; πράττειν, 'to pursue a certain policy,' *in aliqua re paranda instituenda exercenda perficienda versari* (Sommer, quoted by Rehdantz *Index* s.v. πράττειν) ; but sometimes the

distinction almost vanishes, as in § 2 and in 3 § 15, 4 § 49, 9 § 15, 8 § 2 πράττει καὶ μέλλει ποιεῖν. ποιεῖν is applied by Heslop to 'general policy,' and πράττειν to 'particular measures'; but the converse appears to be nearer to the fact.

50. εἶδεν . . καλῶς : 6 § 8 εἶδε τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς, 19 § 239 ἀριστα . . εἶδε, 23 § 156 εἶδεν . . ὅτι. For the Aor. cp. ἔσχε above, l. 45, and χρησάμενος below, l. 55.

52. ἅθλα—κείμεν' ἐν μέσῳ : ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ κειμένου τοῖς παλαίουσιν ἄθλου ἐν μέσῳ (schol.) Hom. *Il.* xviii 507, xxiii 273, Xen. *Anab.* iii 1, 21, Dem. 2 § 28, Hegesippus [7] § 31 τοὺς δὲ μὴθ' ἡμετέρους ὄντας μήτε Φιλίππου συμμάχους ἐν μέσῳ κείσθαι.

53. ὑπάρχει, 'belongs.' τοῖς παροῦσι : 2 § 23 (Philip) παρῶν ἐφ' ἅπασι.

§ 6 l. 55. καὶ γάρ τοι = τοιγαροῦν (Hesychius), *etenim pro-fecto*, 8 § 66, 9 § 58, 18 § 99, 19 §§ 137, 141, 325 ; 20 §§ 69, 91 ; 24 § 140. It is sometimes taken as expressing a *result*, 'and so' (as here by Tournier *Revue de Phil.* 1883 p. 33, and by Blass). The two meanings are discussed by Karlowa *Progr.* 1883 p. 4.

56. κατέστραπται : §§ 9, 42 ; 1 § 12, 3 § 8.

57. ὥς ἂν ἐλὼν τις ἔχοι : ἂν is construed with ἔχοι. The Opt. is often omitted in such cases, e.g. 24 § 79 ὥς ἂν μάλιστα τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ . . βουλόμενος, 1 § 21, and 18 § 291.

58. καὶ προσέχειν—ἅπαντες : an unobtrusive hexameter. See 1 § 5.

59. οὓς ἂν ὀρώσι : Goodwin *MT.* §§ 89, 532.

§ 7 l. 62. ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης . . γενέσθαι γνώμης, 'adopt such a principle' ; 21 § 213 τηρήσατε τὴν γνώμην ταύτην, ἐφ' ἧς νῦν ἐστέ, and § 199 ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερηφανίας εἶναι, below § 9 μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, and 8 § 14.

63. νῦν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ πρότερον : § 44 νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον.

64. οὐ . . χρήσιμον : 18 § 180 οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα.

65. τὴν εἰρωνείαν, 'your characteristic affectation,' 'your habit of pretending to be incapable' ; τὸ λέγειν ἐλάττονα δύνασθαι ποιεῖν ἢ ἂν τις δεδύνηται (schol.) § 37, *Prooem.* 14 τῆς εἰρωνείας ταύτης (ref. to εὐλαβεῖσθαι ψηφίζεσθαι).

Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* ii 7) defines Irony as ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐλάττον προσποιήσις, or a conscious understating (or *underacting*) of the truth ; and in the *Eudemian Ethics* iii 7 the Ironical man is described as ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω καθ' αὐτοῦ ψευδόμενος. Aristotle's pupil Theophrastus (pp. 91, 189 ed. Jebb) defines Irony as 'an affectation of the worse in word or deed' : ὁ δὲ εἰρων τοιοῦτός τις οἶος . . μηδὲν ὧν πράττει ὁμολογῆσαι ἀλλὰ φῆσαι βουλευέσθαι . . καὶ τὰ μὲν σκέψεσθαι φάσκειν.

66. **πράττειν**: further defined by the alternatives *εἰσφέρειν* and *στρατεύεσθαι*.

67. **εἰσφέρειν**, 'to contribute to the war-tax'; 2 § 27, 3 § 4 ult., Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* i 407² = 364 Engl. ed. **ἐν ἡλικίᾳ**: 1 § 28. The age for military service was from eighteen to sixty (Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* 42 § 1, 53 § 4).

67-8. **συνελόντι**, 'in brief,' 'in a word'; Isaeus 4 § 22, Dionys. *Rhet.* 6 § 2, Dem. [11] § 16 ἀλλὰ *συνελόντι φράσαι*. Oftener, ὡς *συνελόντι εἰπεῖν* Xen. *Anab.* iii 1, 38, *Mem.* iii 8, 10, iv 3, 7, *Hell.* vii 5, 6, *Ages.* 5 § 3, *Hier.* 9 § 10, *De re eq.* 3 § 12, *Hipparch.* 6 § 4 (Krüger *Gr. Gr.* ii § 423 e, Goodwin *MT.* § 777, I). Cp. Anaxilas in Athen. 558 Ε *συντεμόντι δέ. συνελόντι ἀπλῶς, breviter simpliciterque dicenti*, is not found elsewhere, though ὡς δ' ἀπλῶς *εἰπεῖν* occurs in 20 § 124; cp. 15 § 1, [11] § 2, 20 § 124, *Prooem.* 27 § 1, and Isocr. 4 § 154.

ἀπλῶς nollem additum: omnia sunt in *συνελόντι δέ*. Dicebant *συνελὼν λέγω, ὡς συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν, συνελόντι δέ*, ubi quis omnia *paucis* complectitur, et de tota re *paucis* absolvit, in quo *brevitatis* notio, non *simplicitatis*, continetur. Duplex est in libris formulae paullo rarioris interpolatio: alii *συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς* exhibent, alii *συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν*. Repudiatum est jure *εἰπεῖν* sed *ἀπλῶς* simul erat repudiatum (Cobet *Misc. Crit.* p. 456).

ἀπλῶς may perhaps, however, be separated from *συνελόντι*, and taken closely with *ἐὰν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι*, 'in short, if you will absolutely resolve on being your own masters.' Cp. 16 § 24 τὸ μὴ θέλειν τὰ δίκαια *πράττειν ἀπλῶς*, 18 § 88 ἀπλῶς *ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματ' ἀφειδῶς δούς* (cp. ib. 179), 21 § 190 ἀπλῶς *κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἔγνω* (cp. 54 § 6), 23 §§ 181, 194 μετ' ἀληθείας *ἀπλῶς*. *ἐάν* would in this case (as often) stand after the emphatic word of the sentence, cp. § 29, 3 § 15, 20 §§ 22, 34; 23 § 42 (more exx. in Rehdantz *Index* i, s.v. *Stellung*).

ὑμῶν αὐτῶν . . γενέσθαι: *non ex aliis pendere* (Krüger ii § 418 b); 2 § 30, 9 § 56. **ἐθελήσητε**, 'resolve,' 1 § 6.

69. **παύσῃσθ(ε)**: *ἐκαστος ἐλπίζων ποιήσῃ οὐδὲν αὐτός*. 14 § 15 ἀπεβλέψατ' εἰς ἀλλήλους ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν *ἐκαστος οὐ ποιήσων τὸν δὲ πλησίον πράξοντα*. For αὐτὸς μὲν and τὸν δὲ *πλησίον* with Inf. cp. 21 § 204 νομίζεις ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀνέξεσθαι σου, αὐτὸς δὲ τυπτήσῃν (Cobet *NL.* 237). For *ἐκαστος* with Pl. see § 48.

70. For *ποιήσῃν* and *πράξῃν* cp. § 5 l. 48. **ἐλπίζων**: always followed by *Fut. Inf.* in Demosthenes. Similarly with *ἐλπίδας ἔχω*. On the other hand, *ἐλπίς* (ἐστι) is usually followed by *Aor. Inf.*, l. 20. (For the usage of other orators see Karlowa *Progr.* p. 20.)

71. (The apodosis begins at this point) καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν: Amphipolis, Pydna, etc. (§§ 4, 12). **κομειέσθ(ε)** κτλ.: 2 § 28, 16 §§ 16, 22, Isocr. 8 § 6 (356-5 B.C.) (οἱ

ρήτορες) προσδοκίαν ἐμποιοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ τὰς κτήσεις τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κομιοῦμεθα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναληψόμεθα πάλιν (cp. πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθε).

72. **θέλῃ**: used, instead of the regular prose form *ἐθέλῃ*, in set phrases like *ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ* (here and 25 § 2), *ἂν θεοὶ θέλωσι* (2 § 20). The same rule applies to Aristophanes, e.g. *Plut.* 347, 1188, *Pax* 939, 1187, *Ran.* 533, *Eq.* 713 (in Rutherford *New Phrynichus* p. 416 the phrase is described as one 'in which the attrition of constant use is manifest'). **κατ-εργαθυ-μημένα**, 'lost through negligence'; Xen. *Hell.* vi 2, 39; Abs. in Dem. 24 § 210. **κατά** has the same sense of *waste* or *consumption* when compounded with *ἵπποτροφεῖν*, *ζευγοτροφεῖν* (Isaeus 5 § 43), *λητουργεῖν* (Isaeus frag.), *ἀριστᾶν* (Antiphon ap. Athen. 433 A), *φαγεῖν*, *πίνειν* and *κυβεύειν* (Aeschin. 1 §§ 95 f, Lys. 14 § 27, with Frohberger's note). **πάλιν**, redundant with *ἀναλήψεσθε*, as in [11] § 21, and Isocr. quoted above. Cp. Xen. *Hell.* v 4, 63, Thuc. iv 75, 1 ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸ χωρίον πάλιν, ib. ii 5, 5; 21, 1; 94, 3; 102, 1 ἀναχωρεῖν πάλιν.

73. **τιμωρήσεσθε**: § 43 and 3 § 1 *τιμωρήσασθαι* Φίλιππον.

§ 8 l. 73. **μὴ γὰρ . . νομίζε(ε) κτλ.**: 2 § 15 *μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε κτλ.*

74. **τὰ παρόντα**: 1 § 21 οὔτε . . εὐτρεπῶς οὐδ' ὡς ἂν κάλλιστ' αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντ' ἔχει, and 9 § 21. **πεπηγέ(ν)αι . . ἀθάνατα**, 'are fixed for ever'; proleptic, as in 2 § 5 and 9 § 21 μέγας ἡδέηθη.

75. **τις**, 'many a one,' followed by Gen. τῶν—δοκούντων.

77. **οἰκείως ἔχειν** here = *φιλεῖν*: often elsewhere = *φιλεῖσθαι*. Cp. Theophr. *Char.* 23 ὡς αὐτῷ εἶχε. **ἅπαν(τα)**: all the passions, such as hatred, fear, envy, implied in *μισεῖ*, *δέδι'*, and *φθονεῖ*.

78. **καὶ ἐν . . κᾶν**: *καί* is often expressed in the relative as well as in the principal clause, as in Xen. *Anab.* ii 1, 22 καὶ ἡμῖν ταῦτά δοκεῖ ἅπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. **ἐν** = *ἐνεστι*, § 23; 2 §§ 4, 10, 23; 8 § 47.

79. **μετ' ἐκείνου**: l. 42.

80. **κατέπηχε . . πάντα ταῦτα**, 'all these are cowed'; *καταπήσσω*, not used elsewhere by Demosthenes. *πάντα* is most naturally understood, like *ἅπαντα*, as referring to the several *passions* of hatred, fear, envy. The passions are here metaphorically described as suppressed, instead of the *persons* inspired by those passions.

Some prefer taking *πάντα* as a general reference to the persons. The neuter is sometimes used where a number of persons are described generally, and not individually, e.g. 8 § 41 (quoted in next note), 18

§ 318 πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταξε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν, ὥσπερ τὰλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητὰς τοὺς χοροὺς τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς, Xen. *Oec.* 6 § 13 τοὺς . . ἀγαθοὺς τεκτόνας χαλκέας . . ζωγράφους . . ἀνδριαντοποιούς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα (πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα Stobaeus), Thuc. i 18, 5 (of Athenians and Lacedaemonians) δυνάμει ταῦτα μέγιστα διεφάνη. πάντα is the text preferred by Blass, who understands it of *persons*, while admitting that the other reading πάντα ταῦτα (or ταῦτα πάντα) naturally refers to the *passions* already mentioned.

81. ἀποστροφὴν expresses the *terminus ex quo*, place of escape from danger; ἀντὶ τοῦ καταφυγῆν (Harpoer.), *deveriticulum*, 'refuge,' 'resource'; 24 § 9, Thuc. viii 75, 3 ἀποστροφὴν σωτηρίας, iv 7, 6, Xen. *Anab.* ii 4, 22, *Mem.* ii 9, 5. Cp. 8 § 41 πάντα τὰ συμβεβιασμένα . . καταφεύξεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ ῥαθυμίαν : § 37 τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν, 9 § 5 τῆς ῥαθυμίας καὶ τῆς ἀμελείας. Dem. 18 § 246 has τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ βραδυτῆτας. These are all the passages in which he uses βραδυτής.

82. ἤδη, 'forthwith,' emphatically placed at the end of the sentence, as in 2 § 26, 6 § 33, 18 § 10. Cp. νῦν in 1 §§ 6, 14; 9 § 31.

§ 9 l. 83. τὸ πρᾶγμα, 'the matter of fact,' explained by the subsequent relative clause, 31 § 6 σκέψασθε τοίνυν τὴν ἀναίδειαν. δς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν. οἷ . . ἀσελγείας : 21 § 17 οὐδ' ἐνταῦθ' ἔστη τῆς ὑβρεως, 23 § 156 αἰσθόμενος δ' οὐ ἦν κακοῦ.

84. ἄνθρωπος : of Philip, as in 8 § 35, 9 § 27, and especially 1 § 23 ἄνθρωπος ὑβριστής.

86. ὥς φασι : 8 § 14, 1 § 23. Cp. ἤκουν 1 § 22 and 2 § 17.

87. οὐχ οἷός ἐστι, *non est is qui*. Harpoer. οἷος εἶ σημαίνει τὸ βούλει καὶ προήρησαι, τὸ δὲ οἷός τε εἶ τὸ δύνασαι. The former implies *character*, the latter *capability*. Cp. 21 § 85 οἷος ἦν (Blass with S¹) πείθειν, 25 § 40 and 23 § 170 οἷος ἦν (S¹ A Y O) πολεμεῖν. Xen. *Hell.* ii 3, 45 ἐγὼ εἰμι οἷος αἰεὶ ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, Aristot. *Rhet.* ii 12, 5, *Eth.* iv 3, 33. Nearly all the *Characters* of Theophrastus are introduced with the phrase τοιοῦτός τις οἷος (in 10 l. 9 οἷος alone). See note on 2 § 17 οὐδαμῶς οἷον (Blass) ψεύδεσθαι. For οἷός τε cp. § 37 l. 337.

κατέστραπται, § 6. μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, *manere in his, non ulterius progredi* (8 § 47); also *perseverare in ea re*, 18 § 307, 44 § 21, *Prooem.* p. 1432, 15; 8 § 14 μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς, 20 § 110 ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ἐθῶν μέναι, 19 § 342 ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς . . ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀσελγείας μενεῖ. Similarly with ἐπιμένειν in 24 § 86. For the sense cp. 1 § 4.

88. αἰεὶ τι προσπεριβάλλεται, 'is ever widening the circle of his conquests,' 'always compassing some new conquest.' L & S (less satisfactorily) 'to grasp at, seek to obtain.' For

περιβάλλεσθαι cp. 18 § 231, Isocr. 4 § 36 ἅπαντα περιεβάλοντο (included, embraced) τὸν τόπον. Cp. Herod. vi 24, vii 90, viii 8, ix 39, Xen. *Anab.* vi 3, 3, vii 4, 17, *Oygor.* i 4, 17, iii 3, 23, *Hell.* iv 8, 18, vii 1, 40 περιβολή τῆς ἀρχῆς. προσπεριβάλλεσθαι Passive in Thuc. viii 40 (Dobree).

89. κύκλω πανταχῇ: § 4 πάντα τὸν τόπον . . κύκλω, Hom. *Od.* viii 278 κύκλω ἀπάντη, Thuc. iii 68, 2 and vii 79, 3 πανταχῇ κύκλω, Xen. *Anab.* iii 1, 2 κύκλω πάντη. καθήμενος, 'sitting idly'; § 44, 2 § 23 καθήμεθ' οὐδὲν ποιῶντες, and § 24, 8 §§ 53, 77; 9 § 75, 19 § 155.

90. περιστοιχίζεται, 'throws his net all around us' (K.), 'envelops us in his toils.' Passive in 6 § 27 ὡς περιστοιχίξεσθε. Harpocr. ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν κυνηγετῶν· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν θηρίων ὀρθὰ ξύλα ἰσθᾶσιν, ἃ καλοῦσι στοίχους ἢ στόχους ('poles' or 'stakes'), καταπεταννύντες ὡς δίκτυα, ἔν, ἐὰν αὐτοὺς ἐκφύγῃ τὰ θηρία, εἰς τὰ δίκτυα ἐμπέσῃ, ὡς ὑποσημαίνει Ξενοφῶν ἐν τῷ Κυνηγετικῷ (6, 5 τὰς δὲ ἄρκυς ἰσθᾶτω, and 8 στοιχίζέτω δὲ μακρά, ὑψηλά). Cp. Pollux 5 §§ 31, 36, Cicero *Verr.* ii 5, 150 *implicatum* . . *circumretitum*.

§ 10 l. 90. πότε(ε): emphatically repeated. Cp. § 18, 1 § 19, and 2 § 10 ἔστιν . . ἔστιν. For the sense of the subsequent context cp. 8 § 51 ἢ πότε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθελήσομεν; ὅταν νῆ Δ' ἀνάγκη τις ᾗ κτλ. (= [10] § 57).

91. ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται; 'in what event' (K.), lit. 'when what shall have happened first'; Xen. *Mem.* i 4, 14 ὅταν τί ποιήσωσι . . ; Plato *Alc.* 107 A ὅταν . . περὶ τίνος βουλευώνται; and *Gorg.* 448 c.

92. νῆ Δ(α): an emphatic formula, often used to introduce a quotation (especially an objection) from the opposite side; 6 § 14 ἀλλ' ἐβιάσθη νῆ Δα. We find ἀλλὰ νῆ Δα (*at enim*) followed by εἴποι τις ἂν ὡς in 6 § 13, and by ἐκεῖν' ἂν ἴσως εἴποι πρὸς ταῦτα in 20 § 3. Cp. 8 § 9 ἀλλὰ νῆ Δα ταῦτα μὲν ἐξελέγχονται κτλ., and § 51 (quoted on l. 90). νῦν: removed (for emphasis) from its natural position between τὰ and γιγνώμενα. τί χρή τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγεῖσθαι: *non quærit quænam eae res sint quæ fiant, sed quænam earum rerum quæ fiunt vis atque natura sit* (Franke). Cp. 9 §§ 16, 39.

93. τοῖς ἐλευθέροις—αἰσχύνην εἶναι: 8 § 51 ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ μεγίστη ἀνάγκη ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν γιγνομένων αἰσχύνῃ.

94. ὑπέρ is omitted by Blass, who understands αἰσχύνῃ as *infamia*, not *pudor*; cp. 1 § 27.

95. εἰπέ μοι: (here after βούλεσθε) used as a stereotyped formula, like φέρε (8 § 34, 14 § 27, 15 § 26, 20 § 26, etc.) and

ἀγε, without regard to the number of persons addressed ; 8 § 74 εἰπέ μοι, βουλεύεσθε.

96. **περιιόντες**: κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν is implied (as in § 48, 6 § 14, 18 § 158, 19 §§ 242, 288 ; 21 § 36), but need not be expressed as in [11] § 17, 18 § 323, 21 § 104. Cp. Lysias 24 § 20.

αὐτῶν = ἀλλήλων, as in 9 §§ 21, 50. ἀλλήλων is actually substituted for it in [Longinus] περὶ ὕψους c. 18, 1, where the whole passage ἢ βούλεσθε—ποιήσετε is quoted in terms of admiration.

πυνθάνεσθαι: 2 § 23. κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν is added in [11] § 17 (as with περιέρχεσθαι in 19 § 225, Aeschin. 3 § 213); omitted in 21 § 198, and other passages already referred to (Dobree).

λέγεται τι καινόν; . . τι καινότερον; Theophrastus περὶ λογοποιίας 8 (p. 134 ed. Jebb) τί ἔχεις περὶ τοῦδε εἰπεῖν καινόν; . . μὴ λέγεται τι καινότερον; Acts of the Apostles xvii 21 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πάντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἠυκαίρουν ἢ λέγειν τι ἢ ἀκοῦν τι καινότερον.

97. **Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ**: 9 § 31 Φιλίππου . . ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνης.

98. **καταπολεμῶν**: cp. *debellare* (καταπολιτεύεσθαι 8 § 52, 19 § 315, καθυποκρίνεσθαι 19 § 337, καταβραβεῖν 21 § 93). The reference is (mainly) to the capture of Potidaea and Methone.

99. **διοικῶν**, 'directing,' 'managing,' as by his recent intrusion into the Phocian War in 353–2 B.C. Isocr. 4 § 120 (of the Persian king) διοικῶν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

§ 11 l. 99. **τέθνηκε . . ἀσθενεῖ**: Philip had actually been ill during his last campaign in Thrace (end of 352 B.C.), and there had even been rumours of his death; 1 § 13, 3 § 5. Cp. 19 § 288 περιερχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς . . ὠτακουστοῦντες . . ποῖ πάρεισι Φίλιππος; ζῇ ἢ τέθνηκεν; and 18 § 67. **μὰ Δί(α)**: only used with negatives.

100. **τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; τί ὑμῖν μέλει** (Hesychius). [Longinus] περὶ ὕψους 18, quoting the present passage and § 44, eulogises τὸ ἐνθουν καὶ ἐξύρροπον τῆς πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως.

101. **ἂν . . τι πάθῃ**: euphemistic, 2 § 15. In construction it depends on ποιήσετε, whereas in l. 105 we have εἴ τι πάθοι dependent on two Optatives with ἂν (Goodwin *MT.* §§ 16, 510).

ταχέως—ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε: Xen. *Hell.* vii 1, 24 ἴσως τάχα τούτους ἄλλους Λακεδαιμονίους εὐρήσετε.

102. **οὕτω**, 'as carelessly as hitherto.'

103. **παρά**, with Acc. in both clauses, is *causal* in sense,

as in 9 § 2, 18 § 232, 19 §§ 42, 263 ; 20 § 110, 21 § 61, 24 § 214, Thuc. i 141, 6.

104. ἐπηύξηται : 1 § 9 ἠύξασαμεν Φίλιππον ἡμεῖς.

§ 12 l. 105. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο : 18 § 123 ; καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο (19 § 314) ; καὶ γὰρ αὖ τοῦτο (21 § 167). εἴ τι πάθοι : cp. l. 101.

106. τὸ τῆς τύχης : § 45, Thuc. iv 18, 2, vii 61, 2. Cp. iii 59, 1 τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, § 28 τὸ τῶν χρημάτων. τὸ τῆς τύχης serves as a periphrasis for ἡ τύχη better than τὰ τῆς τύχης. The Pl. occurs in 1 § 4 τὰ τοῦ πολέμου and § 22 τὰ τῆς τροφῆς.

βέλτιον : sc. ἐπιμελεῖται. Thuc. i 82, 2 . . ὅσοι ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβουλευόμεθα . . , and iii 67, 5 ἦν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς . . ποιήσῃσθε. For the sense cp. Eurpolis ap. Athen. 425 B ὦ πόλις πόλις, | ὡς εὐτυχῆς εἰ μάλλον ἢ καλῶς φρονεῖς. Aristoph. *Nubes* 587 φασὶ γὰρ δυσβουλίαν | τῇδε τῇ πόλει προσεῖναι, ταῦτα μέντοι τοὺς θεοὺς | ἄττ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐξαμάρτητ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν, *Ecc.* 474 ὅσ' ἂν ἀνόητ' ἢ μῶρα βουλευσώμεθα, | ἅπαντ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἡμῖν ξυμφέρειν : cp. 2 §§ 1, 22. The scholiast on the former passage of Aristophanes records the legend that, when Poseidon was vanquished by Athene in the contest for the possession of Attica, Poseidon inflicted on the land the curse of evil counsel, while Athene granted the blessing of turning the evil counsel to good effect.

107. τοῦτ(ο) : τὸ παθεῖν τι Φίλιππον.

108. ἴσθ' ὅτι, 'you may be sure that,' referring mainly to the second of the two following clauses, the clause containing μέν being best rendered by 'while.' πλησίον : § 5 παροῦσι.

ὄντες = εἰ εἴητε.

109. ἂν belongs to ἐπιστάντες as well as διοικήσασθε, 'you would step in, while things were in confusion, and manage them as you pleased.' ἐπιστάντες : Isocr. 8 § 41 ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστὰς τοῖς γιγνομένοις.

111. διδόντων, 'offered' ; 7 § 2 ὑμῖν δίδωσιν ἑαυτοῦ οὔσαν. Ἀμφίπολιν : this important town, which commanded the only easy communication between the Strymonic Gulf and the plains of Macedonia, had been colonised by Athens in 437 B.C. and captured by Sparta in 424 B.C. It had been declared a free city by Philip on his accession in 359 B.C., but in 357 B.C. it was permanently annexed to his dominions. Philip had promised to aid the Athenians by surrendering Amphipolis in exchange for Pydna, and the Athenians had accordingly failed to aid the citizens of Amphipolis in their resistance to Philip (1 § 8).

112. ἀπηρτημένοι: μακρὰν ὄντες (Hesychius), κεχωρισμένοι (schol.), ἀπόντες (§ 5); 'far removed (as you are) both with your forces and your counsels.' 18 § 59 καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, Thuc. vi 21, 2.

113. ταῖς γνώμας: [10] § 1 ταῖς γνώμας ὑμεῖς ἀφεστήκατε τῶν πραγμάτων, contrasted with 2 § 12 ἡμῶν . . ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, and 15 § 11 τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.

§ 13 l. 114. δεῖ—έτοίμως = δεῖ ἐθέλειν ἅπαντας ποιεῖν έτοίμως τὰ προσήκοντα. Cp. 3 § 7, 15 § 1 ἅπαντες ὑπάρχειν ἐγνώκότες μοι δοκεῖτε, 18 § 95 ὑπάρχειν εἰδότας or (18 § 228) ἐγγνωσμένους, Prooem. 27.

115. ὡς ἐγνώκων ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων, 'believing you are convinced and satisfied' (K.) Generally understood as the result of the previous argument. It has, however, been suggested that it may imply a formal ψήφισμα to this effect, cp. 3 § 10 ὅτι δεῖ βοηθεῖν πάντες ἐγνώκαμεν (Hartel *Dem. Anträge* p. 524 n.)

118. πραγμάτων, 'difficulties,' 'troubles.'

119. ὄσον . . οὔστινας: sc. ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν οἴομαι.

120. ἂν goes with παρασκευασθῆναι.

121. καὶ δὴ = ἤδη (Hesychius), 2 § 13, 5 § 9 μόνον ἐν τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔτι, καὶ δὴ περὶ ὧν παρελήλυθα ἐρῶ.

122. τοσοῦτον, § 23, = τοσοῦτο μόνον.

§ 14 l. 123. κρίνατε: the Aor. denotes the single and final act of decision, when all has been heard; while the Present προλαμβάνετε (sc. τὸ κρίναι) denotes the continuous feeling of prejudice during the delivery of the speech. Thuc. iii 38, Aristoph. *Lys.* 1239. μῆ: without καὶ preceding; cp. 8 § 57, with οὐχί 9 § 51.

πρότερον: pleonastic, as in Thuc. vi 57, 2 and viii 66, 1. 'This deprecatory tone deserves notice, and the difficulty which the speaker anticipates in obtaining a hearing,' Grote c. 87 viii 63 n.

124. καινὴν παρασκευήν: an armament which is entirely new and will therefore take time to get ready; hence ἀναβάλλειν . . τὰ πράγματα, 'to delay operations.' ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὴν go together (Hartel *Dem. Anträge* p. 527). Other explanations of καινὴν are *parem rebus cum successu gerendis* (GHSchaefer); or one that διαμεῖναι δυνήσεται and συνεχῶς πολεμήσει § 19, in contrast with the usual hasty βοήθειαι (Heslop).

125. λέγειν, 'propose.'

ἀναβάλλειν, 'put off,' 'delay';

Act. in 8 § 52, 9 § 14 ; often in Mid. as in § 38, 3 § 9. *Medium de iis poni videtur, qui ipsi rem aliquam differunt ; Activum de iis, qui alios remorantur et ab agendo prohibent* (Engelhardt *Obs. in Dem.* p. 36).

126. οὐ γὰρ οἱ “ταχύ” κτλ., ‘it is not those who (ere now) cry “quickly” or “to-day” that speak most to the purpose.’ Grote (viii 62) misunderstands the sense in his rendering—‘nor is extemporaneous speech the best way of providing remedies for the difficult future.’ The eight lines 126–33 οὐ γὰρ—κακῶς recur (with slight alterations) in *Prooem.* 21 pp. 1432 f.

127. εἰς δέον : § 40, 3 § 28 ; ‘seasonably,’ ‘to the purpose’ ; cp. 20 §§ 26, 41 ‘convenient’ ; Herod. i 119, 186 ult.

128. τὰ γ’ ἤδη γεγενημένα : γε placed between the Article and Participle emphasises the latter, as in 1 § 2, 3 § 14, 16 § 8 τοῖς γε . . μετασχοῦσι τῶν κινδύνων. βοηθεία, ‘a hasty levy’ ; § 32 βοηθείαις opposed to παρασκευῇ συνεχεῇ. τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ has a rhythmical correspondence with κωλύσαι δυνηθεῖμεν.

129. δυνηθεῖμεν : η is usually dropped in penult. of Dual and Pl. of the Opt. of the *Present* Act. of Verbs in μι : it may also be dropped in the *Second Aor.* Act., and both Aorists Pass. It is retained in ἀναγκασθείμεν Plato *Symp.* 219 E, and dropped in ἀναγκασθείμεν Isocr. *Paneg.* § 99. βουληθείμεν and βουληθεῖμεν are found side by side in Plato *Alc.* i 111 DE. In Prose the MSS vary, but in Attic Verse the evidence is strongly in favour of the short forms, φαίμεν in Eur. *Ion* 943 being exceptional. Probably the short forms alone were recognised in Early Attic (cp. Kühner *Gr. Gr.* i ii pp. 70² f, and Rutherford’s *New Phrynichus* pp. 451 f).

§ 15 l. 129. ὃς ἂν δείξῃ : sc. οὗτος εἰς δέον λέξει. πορισθεῖσα : construed with πόση and πόθεν, as well as with τίς. These three points correspond to the three in § 13, τὸν τρόπον, τὸ πλῆθος, and πόρους χρημάτων. *De Symmoriis* (354 B.C.) 14 § 2 τίς παρασκευὴ καὶ πόση καὶ πόθεν πορισθεῖσα.

131. ἔως ἂν : especially with Aor. Subj., referring to the future, and dependent on a verb in future time (Goodwin *MT.* § 614, 2).

132. οὕτω, ‘in that case’ ; φυλάττοντες τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον (schol.), = εἰ τοιαύτην δύναμιν πορισαίμεθα, a virtual protasis to the apodosis οὐκέτι . . πάσχοιμεν ἂν (Goodwin *MT.* § 472).

133. τοῦ λοιποῦ : Gen. of Time ; Herod. vi 12 τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθόμεθα αὐτοῦ.

134. **μὴ καλύων**: connected with the previous Infinitive, not the previous Indicative; hence **μῆ**.

135. **ἐπαγγέλλεται**: there is no sufficient reason for regarding **ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι** as limited to vain-glorious assertions incapable of realisation, and **ὑπισχνέσθαι** to promises certain to be fulfilled. The former, however, implies a spontaneous offer. The corresponding substantives are treated as synonyms in 19 § 178 **ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασι**.

ὑπόσχεσις: contrasted with **πρᾶγμα**, the latter being the 'performance' or realisation of the promise in the detailed scheme which follows.

136. **ἤδη**: § 8 l. 82. **τὸν ἔλεγχον δώσει**, 'the performance (of my promise) will supply the test,' or 'proof'; a forensic metaphor (cp. 29 § 39 **τὸ πρᾶγμ' οὐκ ἄγειν εἰς ἔλεγχον ζητῶν**, [49] § 55, of a slave claimed for the test of torture, **ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ δέρματι τὸν ἔλεγχον δίδοναι**, *Prooem.* 49 § 2 **ἵνα . . προθυμότερον πράττητε, ὥς ἔλεγχον δεδωκότα**). The metaphor is kept up in **κριταὶ . . ἔσσεθε**. The orator's confidence is well expressed in the three short and sharp sentences which close this part of his speech. The passage is imitated by Lucian *Rhet. Praec.* 4 **ἡ μὲν δὲ ὑπόσχεσις οὕτω μεγάλη**, and by Hermog. iii 193.

§ 16 l. 138. **τριήρεις πεντήκοντα**: the number is small in comparison with the normal total of the Athenian fleet, reckoned by Demosthenes at 300 triremes in 354 B.C. (14 §§ 13, 20, 29), and reaching 383 in an inscription of 356–5 B.C. (Boeckh *Seewesen* pp. 79, 311; cp. *Publ. Econ.* iv c. 21). But the orator's proposal refers solely to ships to be made ready for immediate service, and to be manned by citizens only.

139. **φημὶ δεῖν**: one of the regular formulae for introducing the orator's opinion in a deliberative speech; cp. §§ 18, 19; 1 § 6 (cp. 17); 2 §§ 11, 27.

140. **γνώμας**: 14 § 14 **οὕτω διακείσθαι τὰς γνώμας ὑμῶν**.

141. **πλευστέον**: sc. **ἡμῖν ὅν**. **αὐτοῖς**: an emphatic reference to *personal* service.

142. **τοῖς ἡμίσεσι**: the Adj. is assimilated to the gender and number of the Subst., as in 20 § 8 **τὸν ἡμισυν . . τοῦ χρόνου**, 15 § 16 **ὁ λοιπὸς τοῦ χρόνου**. **τῶν ἱππέων**: the normal number was 1000 (14 § 13); Aristoph. *Eq.* 225 **ἀλλ' εἰσιν ἱππῆς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ χίλιοι** (cp. note on Aristotle's *Const.* of Athens 35 § 1).

ἱππαγωγούς τριήρεις, 'transports' for cavalry. Thuc. ii 56, 1 **ἱππέας τριακοσίων ἐν ναυσὶν ἱππαγωγῶις**

πρῶτον τότε (430 B.C.) ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νεῶν ποιηθείσαις, iv 42, 1 ἐν ἱππαγωγαῖς ναυσί, vi 43, 2 ἱππαγωγῇ μιᾷ, τριάκοντα ἀγούση ἱππέας.

It is impossible to regard *τριῆρεις* as contrasted with *ἱππαγωγούς*. The triremes proper have been already mentioned, and we now reach a new item introduced by *πρὸς τοῦτοις*. Nor, again, ought we to strike out *τριῆρεις* (as proposed by GHSchaefer) on the supposition that it has found its way into this text from the previous context. It is true that in Aristoph. *Eq.* 599 *ἐς τὰς ἱππαγωγούς* occurs without *τριῆρεις*, and in § 21 below. But in the first passage in which the orator uses the word we expect the technical term to be expressed in full, leaving the elliptical form for the second mention. The epithet implies a contrast between the triremes used as transports and the 'swift triremes' of § 22. The text is defended by an inscription of 323 B.C., where the trierarch of the transport is also mentioned; *τριῆραρχος Σπίνθαρος Μνησιθείδου Φυλάσιος, ΤΡΙΗΡΗΣ ΙΠΠΗΓΟΣ* *Καλλιστώ, Λυσικλέους ἔργον* (Boeckh *Seevesen* pp. 74, 534 = *CIA.* ii ii 811^c 102; 323-2 B.C.) Cp. *τριῆρεις τάσδε ἱππηγούς*, and *ἀριθμὸς τριῶν . . . τούτων τρεῖς ἱππηγούς* (ib. p. 403 = *CIA.* 807^b 42, 67, 72; 330-29 B.C.) The *[ἱππ]ηγὸς Ἰππάρχη* (809^a 64) and the *[ἱππη]γὸς Ἀξιονίκη* (809^a 76) both have a trierarch, ib. pp. 454-5. The same is true of a *ΤΡΙΗΡΗΣ ΙΠΠΗΓΟΣ*, mentioned elsewhere (ib. pp. 441, 498 = 808^a 85, 809^d 223; 326-24 B.C.), while a *ΙΠΠΑΓΩΓΟΣ* (in Dittenberger *Sylloge* p. 469 = 804^a 14; 334-3 B.C.) has two trierarchs.

143. *πλοῦ(α)*: τὰ φέροντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ὑπηρετικά (schol.) Cp. Thuc. ii 83, 4, vi 30, 1, and 44, 1. *ικανά*, 'sufficient' in number.

§ 17 l. 144. *ὑπάρχειν*, 'to be ready' in permanence.

145. *αὐτοῦ* belongs to *στρατέας*, 'those (well-known) sudden expeditions of his.'

146. *εἰς Πύλας*: in the first half of 352 B.C. (Ol. 106, 4) Philip, after his Thessalian campaign, attempted to march through Thermopylae with a view to attacking Phocis, but was checked by a fleet despatched from Athens, below § 91, 18 § 32, 19 § 319, Grote c. 87. *Χερρόνησον*: threatened by Philip (1 § 13) during the Thracian campaign in the latter part of 352 B.C. (Ol. 107, 1), and succoured by an Athenian force (below § 41). *Ὀλυνθον*: threatened in the same year (1 § 13) on Philip's return from Thrace.

147. *ἐκείνῳ—παραστήσαι*: Transitive; 'implant this (expectation) in (or impress this point on) his mind.' 18 § 8 *τοῦτο παραστήσαι ὑμῖν γνῶναι*, and ib. § 1, 9 § 28, Aeschin. 3 § 229, Plato *Rep.* 600 c *Πρωταγόρας καὶ Πρόδικος . . . δύνανται τοῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν παριστάναι . . . ὥς κτλ.*, Dem. 3 § 1 *παρίσταται*.

148. *ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας κτλ.*, 'shaking off this over-carelessness.'

149. *εἰς Εὐβοίαν*: sc. *ὠρμήσατε*, 16 § 14 *Εὐβοέας ἔσωσεν ἡ*

πόλις, 1 § 8 ἤκομεν Εὐβοεῦσι βεβοηθηκότες, 18 § 99, Aeschin. 3 § 85. In 357 B.C. (Ol. 105, 3) one of the political parties into which Euboea was divided, applied for help to Athens, while their opponents appealed to Thebes. The latter were soon conquered by the Athenians under Timotheus. See 8 §§ 74, 75, where the spirited speech of Timotheus arousing Athens to this expedition is quoted by Demosthenes, who doubtless heard it himself. Demosthenes was one of those who volunteered as trierarchs on this memorable occasion (21 § 161, 18 § 99; ASchaefer *Dem.* i 454², Grote c. 86 vii 649 f).

150. **φασιν** (ὕμῃς ὀρμηῆσαι) implies a far earlier date than that of the expedition to Euboea of which Demosthenes and his audience had *personal* knowledge. Cp. ἀκούω, applied to historical events of the remoter past (§ 23, 3 § 21). **εἰς**

Ἀλάρτον: in Boeotia, where the Thebans, Corinthians, and Argives defeated the Spartans under Lysander in 395 B.C. (Ol. 96, 2). The Athenians sent a force to aid the Thebans (18 § 96, Lysias 16 § 13). Thirlwall c. 35 iv 390-6, Grote c. 74 vii 446 f.

τὰ τελευταῖα (§ 34, 18 § 244): a favourite order of enumeration with Demosthenes, the second event in the order of time being mentioned first, and followed by the first and last; 16 § 14 καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πρότερον Θηβαίους καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Εὐβοέας ἔσωσεν ἡ πόλις.

πρώην, 'the other day,' 19 § 209 τελευταῖον . . πρώην, 9 § 12 πρώην contrasted with τὰ τελευταῖα, 19 § 200 τὰ τελευταῖα δ' ἔναγχος. In 22 § 14 πρώην is applied in 355 B.C. to an event of 357 B.C.

πρώην is the form found in S here and in 9 §§ 12, 27; [13] § 14, 19 § 209, 22 § 14, etc.; **πρώτην** in 8 §§ 4, 8; 18 § 130. **πρώην** is supported by the Grammarians quoted by Voemel *Cont. Proleg.* § 30.

151. **εἰς Πύλας**: see l. 146. **ἔσως**, 'possibly'; an intentional bathos after the undoubted achievements of the past.

ἂν ὀρμήσαιτε: uninfluenced by dependence on παραστήσαι (Goodwin *MT.* § 168).

§ 18 l. 151. **οὔτοι παντελῶς**: Sosipater οὐ παντελῶς εὐκαταφρόνητος ἡ τέχνη | . . ἐστὶν ἡμῶν, Menander οὐ παντελῶς δεῖ τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐπιτρέπειν, | ἀλλ' ἀντετάττεσθ'.

152. **οὐδ(έ)**, 'not even'; repeats with emphasis the preceding οὐ in οὔτοι.

εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν, 'if you would not do this'; a potential Opt. (with ἂν) expressing a present condition (Goodwin *MT.* § 506), 24 § 154 οὐδὲ σπέρμα δεῖ καταβάλλειν . . τοιούτων πραγμάτων, οὐδ' εἰ μὴ πῶ ἂν ἐκφύοι, and 20 § 62.

ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τοῦτο can only refer to ἔσως ἂν ὀρμήσαιτε, and **τοῦτο** must be understood as the subject to ἐστὶν. Philip cannot afford to despise a fleet that is always ready for action, even although the Athenians are

not prepared to follow the orator's advice by rendering personal service.

153. Ἦν(α) cannot belong to the previous sentence, which must be treated as parenthetical. It must be connected with the sentence before the parenthesis.

154. εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς : sc. *ὄντας*, § 41 (Goodwin *MT*. § 911).

155. εἰσὶ . . εἰσὶν : emphatic repetition, as in § 46 ; 2 § 10. *ἐξαγγέλλοντες* : in Greek Tragedy the *ἐξαγγελος* is defined as *ἄγγελος ὁ τὰ ἔσω γεγονότα τοῖς ἔξω ἀγγέλλων*. 'This is the orator's earliest allusion' (says Grote viii 68) 'to a party in Athens in communication with, and probably paid by, Philip himself. We may be very certain that there were Athenian citizens serving as Philip's secret agents, though we cannot assign their names.' The traitors here referred to are doubtless isolated individuals like Neoptolemus and Aristodemus (5 § 6, 19 § 12) ; at present there was no formally constituted Macedonian party at Athens.

157. ἀφύλακτος, 'off his guard' (so that his territory is invaded in his absence), Xen. *Cyrop.* i 6, 19 ; probably a metaphor from wrestling. A similar metaphor is partly implied in l. 159 *ἂν ἐνδῶ καιρόν*, cp. Aristoph. *Eq.* 854 *λαβὴν γὰρ ἐνδέδωκας*. *μηδενός* : neuter ; 3 § 8. *μή* is due either to dependence on the final particle *ἵνα*, or to the conditional sense of the participle *ὄντος* ('should there be nothing') and of the context in general.

§ 19 l. 159. *δεδοχθαι . . παρεσκευάσθαι* : perf. denoting *immediate* action ; 8 § 3 *οἶμαι τὴν ταχίστην συμφέρειν βεβουλεῖσθαι καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι*, 14 § 17 *οὕτω συντετάχθαι φημι δεῖν*, 20 § 54, Plato *Crito* 46 B.

160. *φημι δεῖν* : l. 139.

161. *πρὸ δὲ τούτων* : not inconsistent with *πρῶτον μὲν* in § 16. It is there proposed to hold a fleet in reserve, ready for immediate action ; it is here suggested, as a still more urgent matter, *ante omnia*, that a small standing force should be got together to make incessant war on Philip. Cp. ASchaefer *Dem.* ii 62² note. *δύναμιν . . ἢ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει* : § 32 *παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει*.

163. *μή μοι* : *λέξητε* or *λεγέτω τις* : 'none of your . . mercenaries for me.' Aristoph. *Ach.* 345 *μή μοι πρόφασιν*, *Vesp.* 1179 *μή μοι γε μύθους*, Plato *Meno* 74 D, *Prot.* 331 C.

164. *ἐπιστολιμαῖους* : among other adjectives with this rare termination are *ἀγριμαῖος*, *ἀρπαγμαῖος*, *εὐχωλιμαῖος*, *ὀβολιμαῖος*, *συλλογμαῖος* and *ὑποβολιμαῖος*. *ἐπ. δυνάμεις*,

'forces on paper,' lit. 'written in letters,' i.e. promised (in despatches) to the generals or allies, but never sent (K.)

Shakespeare 2 *Henry IV* Act i Sc. 3, 56 *We fortify in paper and in figures | Using the names of men instead of men.* Whiston quotes from *La Presse* for 30th Oct. 1855 'The forts [in the Caucasus] had never been built, and the men existed only on paper. The division of reserve was imaginary; the forts, castles in the air.'

165. τῆς πόλεως ἔσται: § 27 (cp. § 7 l. 68; 9 § 56 ἦσαν . . Φιλίππου), 'shall belong to the state,' and be under its control; as contrasted with mercenaries mainly dependent on their commanders and sometimes even acting on their own account (§ 24). 13 § 5 τὴν δύναμιν τῆς πόλεως οἰκείαν εἶναι. κἂν ὑμεῖς . . χειροτονήσῃτε . . πείσεται: the first κἂν is equivalent to καὶ κἂν ('and whether'), which is avoided on grounds of euphony. καὶ in κἂν in fact does duty with both verbs.

167. τούτῳ πείσεται κάκολουθήσει: contrasted with § 24 ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ. Xen. *Anab.* i 3, 6 ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ (Clearchus) οὐκ ἐθέλετε πείθεσθαι οὐδὲ ἔπεσθαι.

168. τροφήν = σιτηρέσιον, § 29.

§ 20 l. 169. τίς . . πόση . . πόθεν; §§ 13, 15.

170. ταῦτ' ἐβλήσει ποιεῖν: sc. πείθεσθαι κάκολουθεῖν l. 167.

171. καθ' ἕκαστον, the object of διεξιῶν, is treated as equivalent to a single word. Isocr. 5 § 59 καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν τότε γιγνομένων εἴ τις λέγειν ἐπιχειρήσειε, Thuc. v 68, 1 ἢ καθ' ἐκάστους ἐκατέρων ἢ ξύμπαντας, Plato *Rep.* 436 b. Cp. Dem. 2 § 24, 9 § 22 καθ' ἓνα . . λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, and 54 § 26.

172. ξένους μὲν λέγω: the construction is interrupted by a sentence deprecating criticism on the small amount of the proposed force, and is resumed in an altered form with λέγω δῆ.

ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε, 'beware of doing.' Among 33 independent clauses with ὅπως μὴ 10 have the Subj., and 4 others have in the mss more or less support for the Subj.; 5 of these 10 express warning, and according to the mss the present passage is one of these. The other 4 passages are Aristoph. *Nub.* 824 ὅπως . . μὴ διδάξης, Plato *Prot.* 313 c ὅπως μὴ . . ἐξαπατήσῃ, *Charm.* 157 b ὅπως μηδεὶς σε πείσῃ, and *Euthyd.* 296 a ὅπως μὴ . . σφῆλῃ. Four of these Subjunctives are of the σ- class, easily confounded with the Fut. Indic. (Goodwin *MT.* § 283, where ὅπως μὴ with Subj. in prohibitions is supported by the analogy of μὴ with Subj. in the same sense). The Fut. Indic. is, however, far more frequent, e.g. 19 § 92 ὅπως μηδὲν ἐρεῖς, ib. 45 ὅπως . . τούτους ἐπαινέσεσθε καὶ τιμήσετε

καὶ στεφανώσετε, . . ὅπως τούτοις ὀργεῖσθε, *ib.* 46 ὅπως μὴ προσποιήσῃ (**S**), [13] § 14 ὅπως δὲ μὴ θορυβήσῃ (**S**) μοι μηδεῖς, 21 § 216 ὅπως ἐπέξει τῷ μαρῶ καὶ μὴ διαλύσει (**P Y**, *Dind.* : διαλύσῃ **S**¹, *Blass*; in either case the 2nd Pers. *Future* Mid. is meant), *Ep.* 1 § 14 ὅπως μὴ ψεύσεται μηδ' . . ἀναδύσεται. As instances of ὅπως with Fut. in commands we have 41 § 17 ὅπως τουτουσὶ διδάξεις, 8 § 38 ὅπως ποιεῖν ἐθελήσουσιν (**S L**). The above are all the examples in Demosthenes. The only examples in Lysias are 1 § 21 ὅπως . . μηδεῖς ἀνθρώπων πεύσεται, and 12 § 50 ὅπως μὴ φανήσεται. It is only found once in Isaeus, 11 § 5 ὅπως μὴ ἐκεῖνο ἐρεῖς.

The instance in the text is the only one 'directly addressed to the body before whom the oration is delivered . . The orator begins ξένους μὲν λέγω, and then, suddenly breaking off, stirs up his hearers by a vigorous parenthesis, καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσῃθ' etc. How much more effective this than an entreating μὴ ποιήσῃθ'!' (*CWEMiller in AJP. xiii 403*). Cp. *PWeber's Absichtssätze* ii 39, 123 f, who concludes his investigation by declaring the Fut. Ind. to be alone permissible with ὅπως in independent clauses.

173. πάντ' ἐλάττω νομίζοντες: explanatory asyndeton, as in *Isocr.* 8 § 25 βουλευσαμένους ὅπως . . μὴ ποιήσομεν ὅπερ εἰώθαμεν, ὀλίγον χρόνον διαλιπόντες εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς ταραχὰς καταστησόμεθα, *ib.* 5 § 123. Cp. § 14.

174. ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν: 3 § 14, here contrasted with ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν, 'when it comes to action.'

175. πράττειν . . ποιεῖτε: 3 § 15.

176. ποιήσαντες refers to προχειρίσασθαι δύναμιν, and πορίσαντες to τροφήν πορίσαι. There is an obvious consonance between the two participles.

§ 21 l. 178. δῆ: resumptive, 9 § 71 ταῦτα δῆ. τοὺς πάντας, 'in all'; 15 § 13 τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων, 'the Greeks as a whole.' στρατιώτας, as in §§ 28, 33, — πεζούς.

179. Ἀθηναίους: this is the first indication of the need for personal service in preparing this small force. And even the modest demand for only 500 citizens is further limited by leaving it to the people to determine the age of the levy, and by offering the inducement of short service.

180. ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος—δοκῇ, 'from whatever age it shall seem good for you to take them' (i.e. 'if from any particular age,' *Goodwin MT.* § 529). ἡλικίας, 'age' for military service, from 18 to 60; 3 § 4 ἐψηφίσασθε τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντ' ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλίνειν.

Aristotle's Const. of Athens 53 § 4 εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐπώνυμοι . . δύο καὶ τετράκοντα οἱ τῶν ἡλικιῶν, *ib.* § 7 ὅταν ἡλικίαν ἐκπέμπωσι, προγράφουσιν ἀπὸ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπωνύμου μέχρι τίνων δεῖ στρατεῦσθαι, *Aeschin.* 2 § 108 τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐξόδους τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις ἐξῆλθον.

181. **τακτόν** : not found elsewhere in Demosthenes except in 23 § 72 *τακτὴν ὁδόν*. *τεταγμένων χρόνων* occurs in 24 § 26, and *τεταγμένον* is contrasted with *ἄτακτον* in [25] § 15. Cp. § 36 *ἄτακτα*.

182. **μακρόν τοῦτον** : the ordinary period of service extended over the whole of the campaign.

183. **ἐκ διαδοχῆς** : Aeschin. 2 § 168 *supra* ; 21 § 164 *μετέπεμπε τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν*. **ἀλλήλοις** : Dat. after the verbal subst. *διαδοχῆς*, corresponding to Dat. after *διαδέχεσθαι*, Xen. *Cyrop.* i 4, 17 *ἡ διαδοχὴ τῇ πρόσθεν φυλακῇ*, Paus. x 22, 2 *ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις*. *ἀλλήλοις* does not refer to each individual, but to each successive force of 500 citizens.

184. **ἱππέας** . . 187. **ἱππαγωγούς** . . 189. **τριήρεις** : all dependent on *λέγω*, l. 178.

186. **ὥσπερ** : dependent on *τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον*, 1 § 15, 9 § 33. **τοὺς πεζοὺς** : attracted into the same case as *ἱππέας*.

187. **ἱππαγωγούς** : cp. § 16 l. 142.

§ 22 l. 188. **εἰεν** : transitional, 'well,' 'so far, so good' ; *ὅτε βουλόμεθα παύσασθαι τῶν λεγομένων καὶ ἐφ' ἕτερα μετελθεῖν, τῷ εἰεν χρώμεθα* (schol.), 19 § 6, 20 § 22. **ταχείας τριήρεις**, 'swift galleys,' warships manned by oarsmen and marines, to serve as convoy to the transports conveying the infantry and cavalry. Ten ships are here described as sufficient to oppose the small fleet recently formed by Philip. Thuc. vi 43 contrasts *τριήρεις ταχείαι* with *στρατιωτίδες*.

189. **ἔχοντας ἐκείνου ναυτικόν** : Philip's fleet came into being early in 355 B.C. It consisted only of a few cruisers. Cp. § 49, Grote c. 87 viii 56, ASchaefer *Dem.* ii 28².

190. **ὅπως** . . **πλήη** : in pure final clauses *ὅπως* may either have (a) the Fut. Indic., or the Subj. (b) with or (c) without *ἄν*, e.g. (a) [42] § 5 *ἐκείλεον αὐτὸν* . . *ὅπως μὴ* . . *ἀναφανήσεται*, ib. § 28 *διεμαρτυράμην ὅπως μὴ φανήσονται*. (b) 14 § 23 *φημὶ δεῖν ἐπικληρῶσαι ὅπως ἂν* . . *ἦ* . . *ἔχῃ* . . *εἰδῇτε*, [7] § 29, 19 § 298, [48] §§ 5, 48, 52 ; also 20 §§ 127, 128 *ὅπως ἂν* . . *λητουργῶσιν*, [43] § 75 *ὅπως ἂν διασφύζωνται οἱ οἶκοι*, [44] § 43 *ὅπως ἂν ὁ οἶκος μὴ ἐξερημώθῃ*. In the last four examples *ὅπως ἂν* occurs in connexion with legal terminology, and the fact that this is the correct idiom in formal documents is also shown by its being 'almost the only final expression found in the formal language of Attic inscriptions' (Goodwin *MT.* § 328). (c) 19 § 186 *χρόνον δεῖ δοθῆναι ὅπως τὰ δόξαντα* . . *δυνηθῶσι ποιῆσαι*, 14 § 20 *κελεύω* . . *ὅπως συντελῇ* . . *ῶσιν* . . *ἦ*, 19 § 52, 21 § 56, 23 § 89, 24 § 92. (d) After secondary tenses

ὅπως often has the Opt., e.g. 23 § 165, 24 § 114, 27 § 5, 32 § 21, 36 § 27, 57 § 9. In the genuine speeches of Demosthenes the Subj. with ὅπως in pure final clauses occurs *seven* times; with ὅπως ἄν only *four* times. For complete statistics see PWeber's *Absichtssätze* ii 3-5, 34-8. See also notes on § 20, 1 § 2.

193. τηλικαύτην, 'so small'; similarly τοσαύτην l. 195.

194. πολίτας: emphatic. συστρατενομένους: cp. l. 206, and 202 πολίτας . . παρῆναι καὶ συμπλεῖν.

§ 23 l. 196. τοσαύτην (only as large as I have described, cp. Xen. *Anab.* i 3, 15): sc. ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι, resumed from previous sentence.

197. ἐνι: § 8; 2 §§ 4, 10, 23.

198. ἐκείνῳ = τῇ ἐκείνου δυνάμει, *comparatio compendiaria*. παραταξομένην, 'capable of meeting him (i.e. 'his force') in the field'; cp. 9 § 49 παρατάξεως followed by μάχης. παρατάσθαι, in *acīe stare*, 16 § 10, 18 § 28, 20 § 76.

ληστεύειν, 'plunder,' 'make predatory incursions,' *grob-labundi magis quam iusti more belli* (Livy i 15; cp. iii 61, xxiv 6); 18 § 145 (Philip) ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά, Xen. *Hell.* iv 8, 35 (389 B.C.) 'Ἀναξίβιος καὶ Ἰφικράτης ληστὰς διαπέμποντες ἐπολεμοῦντο ἀλλήλοις.

199. τὴν πρώτην: 3 § 2; elliptical like τὴν ταχίστην (1 § 2, 8 § 3), εἰς μακράν (2 § 20), ἄχρι τῆς ἕσης (5 § 17).

200. ὑπέρογκον: not found elsewhere in Demosthenes, though ὑπερμεγέθης occurs thrice. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι—τροφή: 23 § 209 (352 B.C.) οὐδὲ μῖα ἡμέρας ἐφόδι' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κοίνῳ.

§ 24 l. 203. ὅτι . . ἀκούω . . τρέφειν = ὅτι (ὡς ἀκούω) ἔτρεφεν. πρότερον: in the Corinthian war, 394 87 B.C.

ἀκούω: §§ 17, 24; 3 § 21, 9 § 48, 22 § 52, 24 § 154. Similarly φασί in 23 § 116 and 20 § 12, λέγεται in 21 § 143, and λέγονται in 20 § 11.

'It is characteristic of Dem. to attribute his knowledge of the history of Athens to general report, or hearsay, and thus to dissemble his study of literary sources of information. A public speaker who in any obtrusive way laid claim to being a man of literary research would have been listened to with impatience by an Athenian audience' (note on Dem. *Lept.* § 11 ed. Sandys).

204. ξενικὸν—ἐν Κορίνθῳ: Δημ. ἐν Φιλιππικοῖς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτῳ (173 τὸ δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ ξενικὸν οὐχ οὗτος τρέφει;). συνεστήσατο δ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον Κόνων, παρέλαβε δ' αὐτὸ Ἰφικράτης ὕστερον καὶ Χαβρίας· ᾧ χρησάμενοι τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μόραν κατέκοψαν στρατηγούντος αὐτοῖς Ἰφικράτους καὶ Καλλίου, καθά φησιν Ἀνδροτίων καὶ Φιλόχορος (Harpocr.) The destruction of a

Lacedaemonian *mora* of 600 hoplites by the mercenary peltasts under Iphicrates (390 B.C., τὴν μόραν κατέκοψεν Ἰφικράτης 23 § 198) is described in Xen. *Hell.* iv 5, 9–17. Thirlwall c. 36 iv 422, Grote c. 75 vi 485–99.

τρέφειν (and 206 συστρατεύεσθαι): Imperfect Infinitive.

Πολύστρατος: Harpocration s.v. suggests Πολύτροπος on the ground that Didymus (the celebrated Alexandrian critic, contemporary with Cicero) had failed to find any trace of a *Polystратus* as commander of mercenary troops at Corinth. Polytropus, he adds, is 'mentioned in Xen. *Hell.* (vi 5, 11); but he was not an Athenian, and the mercenary force commanded by him is not described as kept up by Athens.' The text, however, is defended by the fact that, as we learn from 20 § 84, Πολύστρατος received an honour (probably the citizenship) at the request of Iphicrates—doubtless for military services under that general. Cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* ii 23 § 17 (on Strabax).

205. Ἰφικράτης: the famous Athenian general, who at the age of 25 was put in command of the forces sent to the aid of the Boeotians after the battle of Coroneia (394). During the 'Corinthian war' he formed a body of mercenaries equipped so as to combine the advantages of heavy and light-armed troops. Owing to the jealousy of the Argive allies of Athens during that war, he was superseded by Chabrias.

Χαβρίας: we first hear of him as the successor of Iphicrates at Corinth. His most famous exploit was the defeat of the Lacedaemonian fleet at Naxos, 376 B.C., τὴν περὶ Νάξου ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκη Χαβρίας (23 § 198). His exploits are eulogised in 20 §§ 75–83. He was no longer living when this speech was delivered, having fallen at the siege of Chios (357). Iphicrates was still alive.

206. αὐτούς: emphatically placed before, instead of after, ὑμᾶς.

207. οἷδ' ἀκούων: cp. l. 203. Λακεδαιμονίους—ἐνίκων: referring to the exploit of the destruction of the Lacedaemonian *mora* (Xen. *Hell.* iv 5, 11), often lauded by the orators, Aeschin. 3 § 243, Dinarchus 1 § 75, etc. The Imperfect is constantly used, even of single victories, as in Thuc. i 14, 1, Andoc. 1 § 107 (at Marathon) μαχεσάμενοί τ' ἐνίκων . . καὶ τὴν πατρίδ' ἔσωσαν.

210. τοὺς φίλους νικᾷ: so far from 'conquering the Spartans,' these mercenaries, when they take the field unaccompanied by Athenian citizens, 'conquer the friends and allies' of Athens by making raids upon them and plundering their territories. Isocr. 8 § 46 (356 B.C.) ξενотροφεῖν ἐπικεχειρήκαμεν, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους αὐτῶν λυμαινόμεθα καὶ δασμολογοῦμεν,

§ 45 end, 8 § 24, 23 § 61. Thirlwall v 210, Grote c. 87 viii 35-7.

211. οἱ δ' ἐχθροί: § 47 l. 428.

212. παρακύψαντ(α), 'having (merely) given a passing glance.' παρακύπτειν is not found elsewhere in any of the Orators. It belongs to the language of Comedy, and is often used of persons peeping out of a window and catching a glimpse of passers-by (e.g. Aristoph. *Pax* 971).

213. Ἀρτάβαζον: in 356 B.C., during the Social War, Chares, instead of attacking the revolted allies, took service under the satrap Artabazus, who was in rebellion against the king of Persia (Diodorus xvi 22). His object was to secure pay for his troops. He gave battle to the king's forces and gained a splendid victory. The remuneration he received from Artabazus placed the Athenian army in temporary affluence, and helped to reconcile the Athenians to his neglect of his immediate duty. The services of Chares were of importance to Athens, and it is for this reason that Demosthenes refrains from direct censure of his conduct; accordingly, he lays the responsibility on the mercenary troops whom the general found himself compelled to follow instead of leading. Cp. 2 § 28. Thirlwall c. 42 v 235, Grote c. 86 viii 660 f.

214. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ: the tribrach in the last two words may perhaps be defended on the ground of the satirical character of the passage. Cp. 3 § 31 Βοηδρόμια, 4 § 36 ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἅπαντα, 5 § 2 ὑμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα κτλ., 8 § 11 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴν πυθώμεθα τι γινόμενον, τῆνικαῦτα θορυβούμεθα καὶ παρασκευαζόμεθα (quoted by Blass *Att. Ber.* iii i 109² f).

215. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄρχειν corresponds in rhythm to μὴ διδόντα μισθόν. This symmetry of form gives fresh point to the epigram.

§ 25 l. 216. τὰς προφάσεις: 2 § 27.

218. ἐπόπτας (quoted by Pollux ii 58) = ἐπισκόπους, ἐφόρους, 'inspectors,' 'overseers'; a stronger term than μάρτυρας τῶν στρατηγουμένων, § 47. The word occurs in Aesch. *PV.* 299, but is rare in Prose. The corresponding participle is used metaphorically in Plato's *Laws* 951 D τὸν σύλλογον τὸν τῶν περὶ νόμους ἐποπτευόντων ('review'). It is because of the rarity of the word and its metaphorical application that ὥσπερ is prefixed.

The repetition of τῶν στρατηγουμένων, here and in § 47, is suspected by Blass, in the light of a passage of Libanius quoted in the Critical Notes. He therefore prefers ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας τῶν δρωμένων, the metaphor from the mysteries being thus kept up by an appropriate participle (Teubner text, *Præf.* p. xxiv). An ἐπόπτης at the mysteries, however, can hardly be regarded as other than a passive and awe-struck spectator of the sacred

rites, whereas the citizen-soldier should be a keen and active inspector of the commander's operations. The text of the mss has therefore been retained. On the general sense see *Holm Hist. Gr.* iii c. 13 n. 6.

219. τῶν στρατηγουμένων = τῶν παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν πραττομένων (§ 47); Neuter, as in τῶν πεπρεσβευμένων (19 § 19).

παρακαταστήσαντας, 'by attaching,' sc. τοῖς στρατηγοῖς 49 § 25.

220. γέλως, 'a mockery,' = γελοῖον, as in 14 § 26, 19 §§ 72, 272, 294, 332. Similarly ἀνάγκη (§ 10) = ἀναγκαῖον, and δέος (1 § 3) = δεινόν. χρώμεθα, 'manage.'

222. οὐχ ἡμεῖς γ(ε), 'no, indeed; not we.' γε emphasises οὐχ as much as ἡμεῖς.

223. πολεμοῦμεν: since 357 B.C.

§ 26 l. 223. ἐχειροτονεῖτε: the Imperf. implies a retrospect over the whole duration of the war with Philip, including the current year. While most of the public officials at Athens were appointed by lot (κληρωτοί), all the military officers were elected by open voting (see Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* 61 §§ 1-5). The ten generals and ten captains (one for each tribe) commanded the Infantry; the two generals of horse and the ten captains of horse (one for each tribe) commanded the Cavalry. In the text the inferior officers in each arm of the service are mentioned first. This admits of the several officers, who are *ten* in number, being enumerated consecutively, leaving the list to be closed by the *two* generals of horse.

226. πλὴν ἐνός—πόλεμον: at first the ten στρατηγοί exercised a joint control in military matters. In the second half of the fourth century B.C. each of them had special duties assigned to him. The earliest evidence of this is in an inscription of 352 B.C., ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας (*Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique* xiii 434 l. 119 and 443). The chief command in foreign campaigns was at the same time assigned to the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας. This must be the officer meant in the text, the date of which is 351 B.C. See Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* 61 § 1, with Gilbert's *Gk. Const. Ant.* i 257 f = 231 Engl. ed.

227. ἐκπέμψητ(ε): § 45 ὅποι δ' ἂν στρατηγὸν ἐκπέμψητε, 2 § 28 ὅσους ἂν ἐκπέμψητε στρατηγούς. ἐκπέμπειν is applied to a general in 15 § 9 and elsewhere.

It is therefore unnecessary to accept πέμψητε, which has inferior authority in the mss, although it gets rid of the collocation of three short syllables and introduces a play of words between πέμπειν στρατηγόν and πέμπειν πομπήν. This last consideration ought really to weigh against the alteration.

τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν: 3 § 31, 'marshal your processions.'

These ceremonial processions, which formed an impressive part of certain important festivals, were of the nature of a public parade in which the Athenian cavalry were conspicuous. The finely sculptured forms of the horsemen of Athens may be seen in the frieze of the Parthenon, which (according to the best modern authorities) represents the actual celebration of the Panathenaic festival, including the grand procession which formed an important part of it. The procession of cavalry was marshalled by one of the two ἵππαρχοι. Xen. *Hipparchicus* 3 § 1 μέλειν δὲ τῷ ἱππάρχῳ . . ὅπως τὰς πομπὰς ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἀξιοθεάτους ποιήσει κτλ. Cp. Dem. 21 § 171 ἐχειροτονήσατε τοῦτον (Meidias) . . ἱππαρχον, ὀχεῖσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ταῖς πομπαῖς οὐ δυνάμενον. The στρατηγοί and ταξιάρχοι are mentioned, with the ἱεροποιοί, in an inscription of 340 B.C., stating the portions of the preliminary sacrifices to be assigned to the several officials:—CIA. ii 163 τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις μίαν (μερίδα) καὶ τοῖς πομπεῦσιν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις (AMommsen *Hecortologie* p. 173, Martin *Les Cavaliers Athéniens* pp. 145–57). The Athenian hoplites also took part in the Panathenaic procession (Thuc. vi 56 § 2, 58, Aristotle *Const. of Athens* 18 § 4).

228. ἱεροποιῶν, ‘commissioners of sacrifices,’ appointed by lot, to superintend nearly all the quadrennial festivals: οἱ . . τὰς πεντετηρίδας ἀπάσας διοικοῦσιν πλὴν Παναθηναίων (Aristotle *Const. of Athens* 54 § 6).

229. οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνους: οἱ κοροπλάθοι (Isocr. 15 § 2), ‘puppet-makers,’ lit. ‘those who model the clay figures’; sc. ποιοῦσιν (§ 34), or πλάττουσιν, εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. We may supply with τοὺς πηλίνους a cogn. acc. ἀνδριάντας.

Cp. [Xen.] *de rep. Lac.* 3 § 5 ἐκείνων . . ἦττον μὲν ἂν φωνὴν ἀκούσαις ἢ τῶν λιθίνων, ἦττον δ’ ἂν ὄμματα μεταστρέψαις ἢ τῶν χαλκῶν, and Aristoph. *Eccl.* 1035 τῶν κηρίνων, and especially Anon. *Oratio Corinthiaca*, printed in Teubner text of Dio Chrys. ii 301, 18 ἢ τί διοίσετε τῶν τοὺς πηλίνους πλαττόντων; ib. 23 οὗς . . χαλκοῦς ἴστατε τούτους ἀποφαίνετε τῶν κηρίνων μαλακωτέρους, where τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσι occurs two lines before τοὺς πηλίνους. Lucian *Lexiphanes* 22 ἐλελήθεις σαυτὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κοροπλάθων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλαττομένοις ἑοικώς, κεχρωσμένος μὲν τῇ μίλτῳ καὶ τῷ κυανῷ, τὸ δ’ ἔνδοθεν πηλινός τε καὶ εὐθρυπτος ὢν (KOMüller *Ancient Art* § 305, 4, Becker’s *Charicles* p. 223 Engl. ed. 1866). In 1896 Dr. Dürpfeld excavated on the W. slope of the Areopagus a house containing a large number of moulds for casting terra-cotta figures (*Berlin. phil. Woch.* 1896 p. 1087). Some commentators (Franke, Westermann, Blass, and Weil) prefer understanding ταξιάρχους καὶ φυλάρχους, in which case there would be a special reference to terra-cotta figures of officers, corresponding to the tin soldiers of modern times. The invention of toy soldiers is ascribed (by Eustathius *Comm. on Iliad* xi 20) to a prehistoric king of Cyprus—*L’imagination des Grecs avait reporté sur le nom d’un roi légendaire de Chypre, Kinyros, l’éclosion de cette céramique militaire. On racontait qu’au temps de la guerre de Troie, le roi chypriote, lié par une*

promesse d'alliance avec Agamemnon, avait eu recours à un subterfuge pour se soustraire à l'obligation de prendre part à l'expédition et qu'il avait envoyé une flotte de terre cuite (δοτράκινον στόλον), montée par des soldats de même matière (γνίνους ἀνδρας). EPottier *Les Statuettes de Terre Cuite dans l'Antiquité* 1890 p. 27. One of the Tanagra figurines represents a Greek hoplite with helmet, cuirass, and chlamys (figured ib. p. 93). But it is not until the latter part of the sentence that the 'officers' are mentioned, and it seems best to understand such a word as ἀνδριάντας, which would suggest itself to the audience immediately after hearing τοὺς πηλίνους. Reference to toy officers is not excluded by this interpretation. All that is here contended is that the reference is not to toy officers alone.

εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, 'for the market-place,' here mentioned not only as the place where terra-cotta toys, etc., were sold, but also as the principal scene of the festal processions.

For the former cp. Lucian (quoted in last note), and εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑφαίνειν (Menander); also Aeschin. 1 § 97 γυναικα ἀμόργινα ἐπισταμένην ἐργάζεσθαι . . . εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν (Cobet *VL*. pp. 94 f). For the latter, 21 § 171 ἵππαρχον ὀχεῖσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ταῖς πομπαῖς οὐ δυνάμενον, Xen. *Hipparchicus* 3 § 2 τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἶομαι ἂν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι, εἰ, ὅσων ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστί, ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ περιελαύνουσιν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς, Eur. *El.* 388 ἀγάλματ' ἀγορᾶς, Menander (ap. Phot. s.v. πέμπειν) μικρὰ Παναθήναι' ἐπέειδ' δι' ἀγορᾶς πέμποντά σε, | Μοσχίων, μήτηρ ἑώρα τῆς κόρης ἐφ' ἄρματος.

§ 27 l. 231. ἐχρῆν: like ἔδει, προσῆκεν, without ἂν; followed (as here) by Infin., 18 § 28, 51 § 3 (Goodwin *MT.* §§ 415-9).

232. ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, 'captains elected by yourselves,' = ὑφ' ὑμῶν κεχειροτονημένους l. 238, 8 § 24; Lycurg. 105 τοὺς παρ' ὑμῶν ἡγεμόνας, Xen. *Hell.* vii 4, 9, and *Anab.* v 5, 19 τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀρμοστήν (ib. § 20 τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρμοστῇ).

ἵππαρχον, the reading of S alone, has been generally preferred to ἱπάρχους on the ground that, as these officers had to take part in the festal processions, only one of the two could be sent abroad (Sauppe). But each of the ἵππαρχοι normally commanded the cavalry of five of the tribes (Aristotle *Const. of Athens* 61 § 4). Thus the cavalry of Athens was divided into two corps under two separate commanders, and in battle one of the two corps would naturally be on each wing (cp. Martin *Les Cav. Ath.* p. 381). During any important war, probably both the commanders were abroad; in ordinary times, perhaps only one was abroad at a time. It may be suspected that ἵππαρχον is due to the mistaken supposition that one of the two was sent to Lemnos, whereas this was really a third officer. If ἱπάρχους is accepted, it would probably require the Article: *si plurali Dem. usus esset, articulum addidisset; nam ita omnes, qui duo tantum erant, Hipparchos dixisset* (Voemel).

233. ἀρχοντας οἰκείους, '(in short) ought not all your officers to belong to yourselves?' ἔν' ἦν: Ind. of that which is not the fact; 28 § 5 ἐχρῆν κελεῦσαι, ἔν' ἦν, 22 § 21, 24 § 48, Goodwin *MT.* § 333, PWeber ii 37.

ὥς ἀληθῶς: sometimes supposed to be = οὕτως ὥς ἂν ἀληθῶς, but this explanation will not apply to ὥς ἐτέρως (18 §§ 85, 212). ὥς is better regarded as the Adv. of the Article, just as ὡσαύτως is the

Adv. of ὁ αὐτός. In fact all Adverbs in -ως may be explained as old forms of the Abl. ; thus the original form of the Abl. of καλός would be *καλῶδ, which by dropping δ and adding s became καλῶς (Giles *Manual Comp. Et.* § 278). ὡς ἀληθῶς would thus be the old Abl. of τὸ ἀληθές used as an Adv. Plato *Laches* 183 D has ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὡς ἀληθῶς. (Cp. Rehdantz *Ind.* s.v. ὡς, Schömann on Isaeus 7 § 27, Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 555, 15, and Fox on Dem. *Megalop.* p. 166.)

234. τῆς πόλεως : § 19 l. 165. εἰς μὲν Λήμνον—πλεῖν, 'while the commander of horse elected by yourselves sails to Lemnos, yet' etc. The regular despatch of a ἵππαρχος to Lemnos is also attested by Hypereides *pro Lycophrone* col. 14 ὑμεῖς . . με . . πρῶτον φύλαρχον χειροτονήσατε, ἔπειτα εἰς Λήμνον ἵππαρχον κτλ. (Cp. Martin l.c. p. 383.) We now know further that this ἵππαρχος was a special and local officer, different from the two ἵππαρχοι at Athens itself, Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* 61 § 6 χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ εἰς Λήμνον ἵππαρχον, ὃς ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἐν Λήμνῳ. Cp. *CIA.* ii 14 (378-6 B.C.) [ἵππαρχ]οῦντος ἐν Λήμνῳ.

This new evidence disposes of Grote's supposition that εἰς Λήμνον . . πλεῖν may here refer to some 'proverbial expression at Athens for getting out of the way and evading the performance of duty' (c. 34 iii 238).

235. τῶν—κτημάτων : in Thrace, e.g., the Chersonesus is called τῶν ἰδίων τι κτημάτων of Athens (19 § 78).

236. Μενέλαος : obviously a foreigner, as is shown by the contrast with τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἵππαρχον. Foreigners had before now been appointed στρατηγοί at Athens. Apollodorus of Cyzicus, Phanostratus of Andros, and Heracleides of Clazomenae are thus named by Plato *Ion* 541 CD ; but all of these were *elected by the people*. It is clear that Menelaus had been irregularly appointed, possibly by Charidemus, who was himself originally a Euboean, and had received the Athenian franchise in 357. Menelaus is almost certainly the second of the two following persons :—

(1) A son of the Macedonian king, Amyntas II, and half-brother of Philip. Philip attempted to put him to death on his accession, and succeeded in his object after the capture of Olynthus in 348 (Justin 7, 4 ; 8, 3 ; ASchaefer *Dem.* ii² 124, 153). Harpocr. ἀδελφὸς Φιλίππου ὁμοπάτριος. This identification was accepted by Westermann, ASchaefer (ii² 17, 74), and Weil, but there is no independent evidence on this point, and it is improbable that a half-brother of Philip, however estranged he might be from the king of Macedon, was in the service of Athens.

(2) Μενέλαος ὁ Πελαγῶν, a subordinate chieftain of Pelagonia,

a district in Upper Macedonia. He aided Timotheus in the capture of Potidaea in 364 B.C., and a complimentary decree (discovered in 1860) was passed in 362 with the heading [Μ]ενέλαος Πελαγῶν εὐεργέτ[ης], and with the statement Τιμόθεος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀποφαίνει Μενέλαον τὸν Πελαγὸνα καὶ αὐτὸν συνπολεμοῦντα καὶ χρήματα παρέχοντα εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας καὶ πρὸς Ἀμφίπολιν (*CIA.* ii 55 = Dittenberger *Sylloge* 80). He may afterwards have received the Athenian citizenship, as he is possibly identical with Μενέλαος Ἀρραβαίου Ἀθηναῖος, in whose honour the inhabitants of Ilium passed a decree (discovered in 1872; *Ditt.* 81). The name Ἀρράβαιος occurs as that of a chief of the Lyncestae (*Strabo* 326), and it was among the Lyncestae that Pelagonia was situated.

(2) is the identification preferred by Blass (note to p. 11 of his ed. of *Rehdantz Dem.*) and supported by Dittenberger (*Saturae Philologicae H. Sauppio oblatæ* pp. 43 f). *Böhnecke Dem., Lycurgus, Hyperides* pp. 207-35, writing in 1864, before the discovery of the second inscription, identifies Menelaus (1) and (2). Curiously enough, (1) had a brother Arrhidaeus (*Justin* 7, 4), while (2) was probably a son of Arrhabeus. It was probably to distinguish (2) from (1) that ὁ Πελαγῶν was added. In either case M. was a Macedonian by birth, and the orator is scandalised at his commanding the cavalry engaged in fighting for the possessions of Athens.

237. μεμφόμενος : with *Acc.* in 3 § 36 οὐχὶ μέμφομαι τὸν κτλ., with *Dat.* in 20 § 104, 21 § 190.

238. κεχειροτονημένον : *Ab Atheniensibus non poterat χειροτονεῖσθαι nisi esset Atheniensis* (GHSchaefer).

239. ὅστις ἂν η : *Aeschin.* 1 § 127 (*Goodwin MT.* § 537, 2).

§ 28 l. 241. τὸ τῶν χρημάτων, 'as to the question of money,' § 32 τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων.

242. τοῦτο δὴ κτλ., 'I am going through that immediately.' καί = 'as you wish to hear it' (*Rehdantz*).

περαίνω : *exsequor, continuo tenore persequor*; 'set forth.' *Plato Gorg.* 506 c λέγε, ὦ γαθέ, αὐτὸς καὶ πέραινε, *Dem.* 19 § 245 *ιαμβεῖα* . . ἐπέραινεν ('recited'), *Aristoph. Ranæ* 1168, *Plut.* 563, 648, *Eccl.* 579.

243. χρήματα τοῖνυν, 'as to money, then'; *Nom. Abs.* forming a heading to the following details. The estimate relates to the proposed permanent force, and not to the 50 triremes which are to be ready at a moment's notice for emergencies (*Grote viii* 63).

μέν corresponds to δέ in § 29 l. 251. τροφή in itself is a general term, comprising σιτηρέσιον and μισθός.

Here it is narrowed down to σιτ. μόνον, 'mere rations.' For μισθός the soldiers are to trust to plunder.

244. ἐνενήκοντα : the exact sum is 92.

245. πρὸς : Adverbial, 22 § 60 δραχμας ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μικρόν τι πρὸς, 20 § 112, 22 § 75, 27 §§ 32, 38, 59, 67, 68.

δέκα μὲν ναυσί κτλ. : Dem. gives a minimum estimate of annual expenditure. (a) 20^m a month for ten ships = 2400^m a year = 40 talents. (b) 2 obols a day for each foot-soldier (= 10^{dr} a month = 120^{dr} a year) amounts, for 2000 soldiers, to 240,000^{dr} = 40 talents. (c) 1^{dr} a day for each horseman (= 30^{dr} a month = 360^{dr} a year) amounts, for 200 horsemen, to 72,000^{dr} or 12 talents. Total 92. The total rations for the crews of the ten ships are the same as for the 2000 soldiers, and the crew of each ship is assumed to be 200. On the pay of the Athenian army and navy see Boeckh *Publ. Econ.* bk. ii c. 22.

247. στρατιώταις : § 21. τοσαῦθ' ἕτερα : τοσοῦτον ἕτερον *vel* ἕτερον τοσοῦτον *non minus ambigue dicitur quam* alterum tantum, *ut aut tantumdem significet, ut hoc loco*, 21 § 182, 27 § 31, *Aeschin.* 3 § 98, 2 § 174, *Liv.* i 36 *extr.*, *aut idem sit quod* δις τοσοῦτον, *ut Isocr.* 4 § 153 ἐτέρου τοσοῦτου χρόνου, *Liv.* x 46 *extr.* (Franke).

§ 29 l. 252. ἀφορμήν, not 'inducement' (L & S), but 'provision'; predicate to σιτηρέσιον (μόνον) ὑπάρχειν. Cp. 1 § 23.

254. τοῦτ(ο) (sc. σιτηρέσιον ὑπάρχειν) ἂν γένηται. In conditional sentences the conjunction is often placed *after* the emphatic word, and close to the verb, as in § 43, 3 § 15, 5 § 16, 9 § 44, 20 §§ 22, 34, 43, 46, 79, 119, 133; 23 §§ 42, 94.

προσποριεῖται, 'will provide, or procure, for itself' (by ravaging the country). Thuc. i 11 ἡλπιζον αὐτόθεν πολεμοῦντα βιοτεύειν. The Act. προσποριεῖ is less natural, but is supported by πορίσωσιν in 2 § 16.

Boeckh observes :—'This proposal is worthy of remark, as having no parallel in any Grecian author; it is the outline of a plan for embodying a military force to maintain itself at free quarters, and at the same time to form a permanent standing army; though its continuance was indeed limited to the duration of war' (*Publ. Econ.* ii c. 22 p. 283 Lewis²).

257. μισθὸν ἐντελῇ, 'full pay,' as contrasted with mere rations. Cp. § 33 and Aristoph. *Eq.* 1367 τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδώσω ἐντελῇ. ἐγὼ—πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ἔτοιμος : 8 § 24 ἢ ἐγὼ πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν τιμῶμαι. Demosthenes volunteers to join the fleet himself as a pledge of his confidence in the practicability of his proposals, and as a proof of his patriotism.

Schol. on Dem. p. 11, 10 :—ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης (frag. 136 περὶ συμβουλίας) φησὶ δεῖν τὸν σύμβουλον οὕτω συμβουλευεῖν, ὥς αὐτὸν μέλλοντα κοινωνεῖν τούτοις ἐφ' οἷς ποιεῖται τὴν συμβουλὴν. τούτοις γὰρ πείθονται μᾶλλον, οὓς ἂν ὀρῶσιν ἐτόιμους ὄντας συμμετέχειν ὧν συμβουλευεῖν ἐγνώκασιν.

258. *ἔτοιμος*: as often, without *εἰμί*, 9 § 4. Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii § 354 c.

259. *πόθεν γενήσεται*: 8 § 22. ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων, 'the ways and means of the supply,' 14 § 24 ὑπὲρ δὴ χρημάτων καὶ πόρου.

260. *λέξω*: not synonymous with *ἀναγνώσομαι*, as Demosthenes doubtless accompanied the reading of the items of his 'statement of ways and means' with explanatory remarks (EMüller). The two words are contrasted in 21 § 130. Grote (viii 64) observes that the scheme 'must have been more or less complicated in its details; not a simple proposition for an *εἰσφορά* or property-tax, which would have been announced in a sentence of the orator's speech.' The details were probably given in the speech itself as originally published. If Demosthenes had himself desired to withhold them, it is improbable that he would have retained such an ambiguous phrase as *ἀ μὲν ἡμεῖς* κτλ. (Hartel *Dem. Anträge* p. 524).

§ 30 l. 261. *ἡμεῖς*, 'my friends and I,' referring either to certain financial officers, or to political friends like Lycurgus. Demosthenes never uses *ἡμεῖς* of himself alone. Dionysius of Halicarnassus regards this section as the beginning of a new speech.

Ep. 1 ad Atticum c. 10 *ἔπειτα* (after Theophilus, archon of Ol. 108, 1 = 348·7 B.C.), *Θεμιστοκλῆς* (347-6 B.C.), *ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἑκτὴν τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν ἀπήγγειλε Δημοσθένης περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νησιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεων, ἧς ἔστιν ἀρχή· ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς—ταῦτ' ἐστὶ*. The views of Dionysius are also indicated in a schol. on the text of Demosthenes:—*ἐντεῦθεν φησι Διονύσιος . . ἑτέρου λόγου εἶναι ἀρχήν, προσίμιον δέ, φησὶν, οὐκ ἔχει, ἐπειδὴ δευτερολογία ἐστίν, ἐν αἷς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον οὐκ ἔστι προοίμια. οὐ λέγει δὲ ἀληθῆ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἄνωθεν ὑπέσχετο περὶ τοῦ πόρου χρημάτων εἰπεῖν, νῦν τοῦτο δεκνύει, καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς περ ἐπίλογος*.

Dionysius has obviously made several mistakes:—(1) Having already mentioned 'four Philippics,' of which §§ 1-29 is (in his view) the *fourth*, he describes §§ 30-51 as the *sixth* Philippic. By this he must mean the *fifth*, for he mentions the speech *de Pace* immediately afterwards, and then describes *Phil. ii* as the *seventh* Philippic. (2) His description of the topics of §§ 30-51 is inaccurate. (3) The opening words of § 30 could not possibly belong to the *beginning* of a speech. (4) The result of this severance would be that §§ 1-29 would have no proper conclusion, and §§ 30-51 no proper beginning. *ταῦτ' ἐστίν* clearly refers to what has gone before, like *ταῦτα* in 1 § 19 and *τοῦτο* in 2 § 18. Besides, the latter part contains references to the former (§§ 32, 43 to § 19; § 33 to § 24), and cannot be separated from it (Dindorf, ed. 1846, v pp. 108-9).

It has been conjectured that *ἡμεῖς* may include members of the *Council*. Now, supposing Dionysius had found in the authority he was following (probably the Attidographer Philochorus) that in Ol. 108, 2 (347-6 B.C.) Demosthenes delivered a speech in the Assembly 'on the protection of the islanders and of the cities in the Hellespont,' it has been suggested that in so doing he was acting on behalf of the *Council*, of which he was an influential member in that year. Dionysius, in his search for a speech corresponding to this description, may have fixed on the latter part of the

present speech, especially as several islands happen to be mentioned in § 32 (Seebeck in ASchaefer *Dem.* ii² 68).

It has also been suggested that Demosthenes, as a member of the Council in 347 B.C., returned to his scheme of a standing force, which was still more urgently needed owing to the increasing danger in which Athens was then placed. He may have brought this scheme before the Council in a revised form, and after receiving its preliminary sanction, may have addressed the Assembly on the subject. Philochorus may have mentioned some such fact, and Dionysius may have been led thereby to assign §§ 30-51 to a later date than §§ 1-30 (Blass *Attische Beredsamkeit* iii 1, 304²). Blass is prompted to make this suggestion by a chronological difficulty recently raised as to § 35 l. 313.

The unity of the speech has been *opposed* by Schott (1603), Fabricius (1705), Leland (1756), Forbiger (1822), Wachsmuth (1826), Held (1831), Flathe (1832), Seebeck (1838), and Eichler (1883). It has been *maintained* by Tourreil (1701), Mounteney (1731), Reiske (1764 9), Auger (1790), Niebuhr (1805), AGBecker (1815, 1834), Bremi and Weiske (1819), Zimmermann (1828), Voemel and Winiewski (1829), Westermann (1833), Brückner (1837), Böhneke (1843), Clinton (1851), ASchaefer (1856), Haedicke (1858), Doehle (1866), Baran (1884), Muther (1887), Schmied, ESchwartz and May (1894), and Schefezik (1895).

262. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε—χειροτονήσετε, 'when you vote upon (not 'sanction by vote,' L & S) the resolutions, (if you approve of them) you will pass them.' 18 § 248 ὁ δῆμος . . τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτὸννει, 19 § 70 ἂν βούλησθε χειροτονήσετε. ἐπιχειροτονεῖν is only found in two other passages of Demosthenes, 24 § 6 (τοὺς νόμους) ἐπεχειροτονήσατε, 'voted on,' lit. 'put to the vote' (by means of your agents, the πρόεδροι), and ib. 84 (τοὺς προέδρους) ἐπιχειροτονεῖν, 'to put the question to the vote.'

263. ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη: *alienum a consilio Demosthenis, diversas sententias, quas populus sequi possit, commemorare (ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη vulgo), suam commendat, de sua loquitur (ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη).* Sauppe *Ep. Crit.* p. 43. Cp. 9 § 70 ἂν βούλησθε, χειροτονήσετε, 14 § 14 ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη, ψηφίζεσθαι, Prooem. 29 ἵνα, ἂν μὲν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διδάσκω, ib. 33 ὑμέτερον δ' ἀκούσαντας κρίναι, κἂν ἀρέσκη, χρήσθαι, ib. 36 σκέψασθε δ' ἀκούσαντες, κἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη, χρήσασθε (Sauppe).

264. ἐν—ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς: §§ 19, 20, 45. Livy xxxi 44 *Athenienses quidem litteris verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversus Philippum gerebant* (of Philip V, 200 B.C.) Rufinianus *de figuris* p. 199 R 'Cato apud Athenienses: Antiochus epistolis bellum gerit, calamo et atramento militat.'

§ 31 l. 266. δοκεῖτε . . ἂν . . βουλευσασθαι: Goodwin *MT.* § 220, Cobet *NL.* 362 f. The personal construction of δοκεῖν is preferred wherever possible.

268. τόπον, '(geographical) position.' 23 § 182 ὥσπερ γὰρ Χαλκὶς τῷ τόπῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας πρὸς τῆς Βοιωτίας κεῖται, οὕτω Χερρονήσου κεῖται πρὸς τῆς Θράκης ἢ Καρδιανῶν πόλιν. ἦν δὲ ἔχει τόπον ὅστις οἶδεν ὑμῶν κτλ., 18 § 146, Cic. *ad Fam.* i 7, 6 *naturam et regionem provinciae tuae.*

269. ἐνθυμηθείτε: § 14 l. 129 *δυνηθείμεν.*

270. πνεύμασιν: explained by ἐτησίας: ὥραις, by χειμῶνα. Cp. 2 § 23 μηδένα καιρὸν μὴδ' ὥραν παραλείπων. τὰ πολλὰ—διαπράττεται, 'effects his purpose by getting the start in most of his operations.' (Of Philip) 2 § 9 προειληφέναι, and 8 § 11 πρότερος πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασι γίγνεσθαι.

272. φυλάξας, 'by watching for,' Thuc. ii 2, 3; cp. iv 20, 4 τηρεῖν. τοὺς ἐτησίας: sc. ἀνέμους, 'the trade-winds,' 8 § 14 (of Philip) περιμένοντας τοὺς ἐτησίας, and 8 § 17; northerly winds blowing in the Aegean from the end of July to the latter part of September.

Aristotle *Meteor.* ii 5, 5 οἱ δ' ἐτησῖαι πνέουσι μετὰ τροπὰς καὶ κυνὸς ἐπιτολὴν (July 24), § 7 βορέαι . . οὓς καλοῦμεν ἐτησίας, *de Mundo* 4 § 13 μείζιν ἔχοντες τῶν τ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου φερομένων καὶ ξεφύρων, Lucr. v 742 etesia flabra squilonum, Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii 131. They are 'in reality northern winds, but occasionally point obliquely both towards the west and towards the east' (St. John's *Ancient Greece* iii 322). They must have been blowing from the NE. when they carried Miltiades from the Thracian Chersonesus to Lemnos (Herod. vi 140), and also when they prevented a Sicilian fleet from rounding Malea (ib. vii 168). In any case it would be difficult to sail from Athens to the Northern Aegean while they were blowing, and Philip took advantage of this fact in his operations in Thrace and Macedonia. 'The obstinacy and violence of the Etesian winds in July and August . . are well known to those who have had to struggle with them in the Aegean in that season' (Leake's *Northern Greece* iv 426). See especially Neumann und Partsch *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland* pp. 96-100.

χειμῶν(α): when the sea was closed to sailors. Andoc. 1 § 137 τίς γὰρ κινδύνος μελίων ἀνθρώποις ἢ χειμῶνος ὥρα πλεῖν τὴν θάλατταν; In 3 § 4 Philip is described as besieging a Thracian fortress in November; cp. 9 § 50 σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος ὥρα τις ἣν διαλείπει, and 2 § 23. See especially Holm's *Greek History* vol. iii c. 18 note 9.

273. ἡνίκ' ἂν . . μὴ δυναίμεθ(α) κτλ., 'when we are unable (he thinks) to reach the spot.' μὴ points to Philip's purpose; cp. μηδεὶς in 2 § 16. *Potuisset scribere ἡνίκ' ἂν δυνώμεθα, ut de conditione, si fors tulerit, facile redeunt. Sed quum cogitatione Philippi referat, adhibuit optativum* (Voemel). Xen. *Oec.* 11, 14 ἀνίστασθαι . . εἴσισμαι ἡνίκ' <ἂν> ἐτι ἔνδον καταλαμβάνοιμι, εἴ τινα δεόμενος ἰδεῖν τυγχάνοιμι (where ἂν was first added by GHSchaefer). On conditional relative clauses containing a potential Opt. with ἂν see Goodwin *MT.* §§ 557, 506, and cp. § 18 εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τοῦτο.

§ 32 l. 274. βοηθείαις, 'hasty levies,' *auxilia repentina*; opp. to (275) παρασκευὴ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει, 'a permanent force and power.' Cp. 8 § 47.

275. ὑστεριοῦμεν . . ἀπάντων, 'we shall (only) be too late for everything,' § 35; see esp. 8 § 12.

277. **χειμαδίω** : τόπω ἐφ' οὗ ἂν τις δύναιτο χειμῶνος ἐγκαθορμύσασθαι (*Etym. Magn.*), 'as winter-quarters,' in app. to Λήμνω κτλ. Cp. predicative use of παραδείγμασι (§ 3). **τῇ δυνάμει** : *Dat. commodi*, § 28 ; 1 § 22 τοῖς ξένοις, 3 § 27 ἐκείνοις.

Λήμνω : § 27. This island, first won for Athens by Miltiades, had (like Imbros and Scyros) long been in her possession, being occupied by Athenian κληροῦχοι. All the three islands had been abandoned at the close of the Peloponnesian war (*Andoc. de Pace* § 12), but were reoccupied before the rights of Athens were formally recognised by the peace of Antalcidas, 387 (*Gilbert Gk. Const. Ant.* i 502² f=446 f, Engl. ed.) Lemnos is nearly divided into two peninsulas by two deep bays on the N. and S., the latter being a large and convenient harbour, suitable for winter-quarters.

278. **Θάσω** : then dependent on Athens, [7] § 15, [12] § 2. Its capital, N. of the island, possessed two ports. The modern port of *Liména* is little more than an open roadstead, but is protected by a headland to the E. and by the Thracian coast to the N. (*Tozer's Islands of the Aegean* 283). **Σκιάθω** : 8 § 36, one of the subject allies of Athens, paying her an annual tribute of only 200δρ. To the SE. of the island is an excellent harbour.

ταῖς—νήσοις : e.g. Peparethos (18 § 70) and Scyros ([7] § 4). Diodorus xv 30 (377 B.C.) Χαβρίας . . ταῖς Κυκλάσι νήσοις ἐπιπλέων προσηγάγετο Πειπάρηθον καὶ Σκίαθον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλας τεταγμένας ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις (cp. ASchaefer *Dem.* ii 175² note). **τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ**, 'that region' ; 20 § 77 τῶν νήσων τούτων, 'those islands' (near Naxos). Cp. l. 41.

279. **ἃ χρῆ** : sc. ὑπάρχειν.

280. **τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους**, 'during the season (of the year)' suited for sailing, opp. to winter (implied in χειμαδίῳ), and further explained by ὅτε κτλ. Cp. [50] § 23 ὥρα ἔτους, towards the end of summer, 'just before the setting of the Pleiades,' 8 § 18 τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους. For the Acc. (=καθ' ὥραν) cp. Eur. *Bacch.* 724, Herod. vii 50 ὥρην τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην, Dem. 9 § 48 τὴν ὥραλαν αὐτήν, 21 § 11 τὴν ἐορτήν.

281. **πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι**, 'to put ashore,' or (like πρὸς in ll. 282-3) 'come close to the shore,' Thuc. i 62, 3.

282. **πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ—ῥαδίως ἔσται**, 'it will easily hold a position off the country itself, and close to the entrances of the sea-ports.' *Ad terram appellit (parva illa classis), ut milites egressi e navibus praedentur* (ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη § 23) ; *circa emporiorum introitus versatur, ne merces importentur neve exportentur*, 18 § 145 (Sauppe). Cp. 2 § 16.

§ 33 l. 285. **ἃ—χρήσεται** : sc. ὁ τούτων κύριος, 'how and when

to employ the force, the commander . . will determine,' 3 § 19 end. The relative *ἃ* and the interrogative *πότε* are here combined. *ἃ*: cogn. Acc., 3 § 6 *τί χρῆσόμεθα*;

286. *παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν*, 'at the right time,' 'as occasion requires'; 20 §§ 41, 44, 159; 18 § 13, *Er.* 1 § 12 *γινῶναι τὸν ἐκάστου καιρὸν τῶν ἐφεστηκότων στρατηγῶν ἔργον ἐστίν*, 9 § 38.

καταστὰς ὑφ' ὑμῶν, 'appointed by you,' 2 § 9 *ὑπ' εὐνοίας συστή.*

288. *γέγραφα*, 'have drawn up in writing,' 'have drafted,' in the form of a *ψήφισμα*.

290. *στρατιώτας . . τριήρεις . . ἱππέας*: § 40 *τριήρεις ὀπλίτας ἱππέας*.

291. *ἐντελῇ* (l. 257): in fact, 'the whole force in all its completeness'; *δύναμιν* being in apposition to the previous Accusatives, and *ἐντελῇ* agreeing with it as a proleptic epithet.

292. *νόμῳ κατακλείσθη(ε)*, 'bind (or 'compel') them by law,' Andoc. 3 § 7 *ἀννέγκαμεν χίλια τάλαντα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ νόμῳ κατεκλείσαμεν ἐξαίρετα εἶναι τῷ δήμῳ*, Antiphanes ap. Ath. 343 A *ἔστι δὴ | νόμῳ κατακλείσαι τοῦτο* (with Inf.), Dem. 23 § 87 *κατέκλεισεν ἴδιον πρᾶγμα ψήφισματι*. Here the object has to be supplied from *δύναμιν*. (Sauppe and Voemel make *ἐντελῇ* agree with *τάλλα*, and regard *πάσαν τὴν δύναμιν* as the object of *κατακλείσθη(ε)*.)

293. *τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορισταί*, 'your own paymasters and commissaries' (K.)

The most important class of *ταμίαι* were those known as *οἱ ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*. Besides these, 'every official through whose hands large sums of money passed during his year of office, had his *ταμίας* or treasurer' (Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* i 269 f, 278² = 241-3, 250 Engl. ed.)

The *πορισταί*, or 'commissioners of ways and means,' were probably appointed from time to time for the purpose of raising extraordinary supplies (l.c. 295²=265); *ἀρχὴ τις Ἀθήνησιν, ἣτις πόρους ἐζήτει* (Bekker *Anecd.*) Antiphon (6 § 49) classes them with *πωληταί* and *πράκτορες*. The term is metaphorically used in Thuc. viii 48, 5 *τοὺς καλοὺς κάγαθους . . ποριστὰς ὄντας καὶ ἐσηγητὰς τῶν κακῶν τῷ δήμῳ*. It is uncertain whether there were any such officials in the time of Demosthenes (Boeckh *Publ. Econ.* bk. ii c. 6 vol. i³ 203). They are not mentioned in Aristotle's *Const. of Athens*.

The Athenians are here urged to become their own *πορισταί* by voting the necessary supplies (§ 25), and to be their own *ταμίαι* also, instead of expecting the military authorities to find means for carrying on the war. In 8 § 47 the metaphor is dropped, and they are urged more directly to provide 'maintenance for the army, and paymasters and subordinate commissioners' (*ταμίας καὶ δημοσίους*).

294. *τῶν δὲ πράξεων—ζητοῦντες*, 'while you demand from your general an account for the operations (of war).' *ζητοῦντες*

is a less technical term than ἀπαιτοῦντες, and τὸν λόγον than τὰς εὐθύνας, 8 § 75 τὰ μὲν ἔργα παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ζητεῖτε, 14 § 37 τὰ δίκαια ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ζητεῖν. The sense is different in 19 § 109 ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους ἐξήτουν (not *demanding*, but *looking for, expecting*, this language) παρὰ τούτου.

296. περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι : § 1. πλέον οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες, 'without effecting anything.' Andoc. 1 § 149, [4] § 7, Plato *Phaedo* 115 c.

§ 34 l. 298. ἐκείνου : Philip.

299. ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων — συμμάχων, 'it is from the resources of your own allies that he maintains war against you'; § 29 ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, 1 § 22 ἀπὸ τούτων, 3 § 34 ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λημμάτων. The allies referred to are mainly the islanders of the Northern Aegean.

300. ἄγων καὶ φέρων κτλ. : with *personal* object; 'by his piracies on their navigation' (K.), lit. 'harassing and plundering, etc.'; 9 § 52, 18 § 230, 23 § 61. Cp. *ferre et agere*. τοὺς πλείοντας τὴν θάλατταν : i.e. 'their traders'; [33] § 5 διὰ τὸ εἶναι μοι τὰς διατριβὰς περὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον γνωρίμως ἔχω τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν πλεόντων τὴν θάλατταν, Lys. 6 § 16 ναυκληρῖα ἐπιθέμενος τὴν θάλατταν ἔπλει.

302. τοῦ πάσχειν — γενήσεσθε = γενήσεσθε αὐτοὶ ἔξω τοῦ κακῶς πάσχειν. κακῶς is displaced to prevent *hiatus* between αὐτοὶ and ἔξω, and to secure greater emphasis. ἔξω, 'out of the reach of' (ἔξω βελῶν Xen. *Cyr.* iii 3, 69), or 'clear of' (πημάτων ἔξω Aesch. *PV.* 263). οὐχ ὥσπερ κτλ. : elliptical for οὐκ οἰχθήσεται ἔχων ὥσπερ ᾧχετ' ἔχων, οὐδ' ἐκλέξει οὐδ' ἀποβήσεται, ὥσπερ ἐξέλεξε καὶ ἀπέβη. 'He will not (do) as in time past, when . . .' We have to understand after οὐχ a verb corresponding to that expressed after ὥσπερ. 21 § 218 οὐδ' ὥσπερ Ἀριστοφῶν . . . ἔλυσεν τὴν προβολὴν . . . κρίνεται, *Prooen.* p. 1445, 7, Plato *Sympr.* 179 E οὐχ (ἐτίμησαν) ὥσπερ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐτίμησαν, *Gorg.* 522 A.

303. εἰς Λήμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον ἐμβαλὼν : even before Philip's first expedition against the Chersonesus (spring of 353) ἡγωνίζετο . . . ἤδη περὶ Λήμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον καὶ Σκύρον (Aeschin. 2 § 72). In [59] § 3, shortly before the expedition to Euboea (350 or 348 B.C.), Athens is described as in danger of losing Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, and the Chersonesus. ASchaefer *Dem.* ii 29².

304. πολῖτας : settled in those islands as κληροῦχοι.

'These islands formed stepping-stones in the line of communication which led from Athens to her possessions in the Chersonese, and secured to her the trade of the Black Sea . . . The coins of Imbros bear the familiar

Athenian emblems; and . . the ancient inscriptions . . in a majority of cases bear the names of *Athenian citizens*, together with that of the deme of Attica to which they belonged' (Tozer's *Islands of the Aegean* pp. 237 f). Cp. Boeckh *Publ. Econ.* bk. iii c. 18 vol. i³ 505, and Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* p. 450 Engl. ed.

305. Γεραιστῶ: the southern promontory of Euboea. τὰ πλοῖα: vessels laden with corn, lying at anchor on their way to Athens.

306. ἀμύθητα—ἐξέλεξε, 'levied an incalculable sum.' Thuc. viii 44, 4 has χρήματα . . ἐξέλεξαν, but ἀμύθητος is not found earlier than Dem. The only other passage where he uses it is 21 § 17 κατὰ καὶ πράγματ' ἀμύθητα. εἰς Μαραθῶν(α): *Prooem.* 21 § 2 ἡνίκ' εἰς Μαραθῶνα τριήρεις αἱ ληστρίδες προσέσχον.

307. ἀπέβη καί: instead of the Participle ἀποβάς (corresponding to ἐμβαλῶν and συλλαβῶν) the Indicative is used, because the fact is startling enough to deserve an independent clause. τὴν ἱερὰν . . τριήρη: λέγοι ἂν τὴν Πάραλον, ὡς συνιδεῖν ἔστιν ἔκ τε τοῦ Φιλοχόρου καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀνδροτίωνος ὁμοίως 5' (Harpocration). The Πάραλος (like the Σαλαμνία) was only used for state purposes, including festal occasions such as the despatch of the θεωρία to Delos (cp. Plato *Phaedo* p. 58). It is called the ἱερὰ τριήρης in 21 § 174. Early in May the sacred trireme touched at Marathon, where a sacrifice was offered at the 'Delian sanctuary' of Apollo before the trireme left for Delos. Philochorus in schol. on Soph. *OC.* 1047 εἰ δὲ εἰς Δῆλον ἀποστέλλοιτο ἡ θεωρία . . θύει ὁ μάντις εἰς τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι Δῆλιον. The event described in the text was evidently recent (τὰ τελευταῖα), i.e. not later than 352 B.C., possibly as early as 353 (see note on l. 303). ASchaefer *Dem.* ii 29² note 1, Boeckh *Seevesen* pp. 76 f.

The orator's instances of Philip's encroachments are remarkable (1) for their admirable *selection*:—Philip has with impunity robbed Athenians (at Lemnos and Imbros) of their freedom; of their supplies, by capturing the corn-ships; of their honour, by carrying off the sacred trireme; (2) for the *order* in which they are stated:—he has robbed them first at the distant island of Lemnos, next off the southern promontory of Euboea, and lastly at Marathon, on the very coast of Attica; with increasing anxiety and excitement, the listener feels that the next step must bring Philip to Athens itself. 'Lastly, he landed at *Marathon*.' The slightest stress on that historic name would at once recall a similar landing when a far different doom awaited the invader. Like a flash of lightning this last instance would reveal to the Athenians the precipice on the brink of which they were standing, would rouse them to a vivid apprehension of the immediate crisis, and would prompt them to give effect to the orator's demand (Rehdantz). The effect is still further enhanced by the striking rhythm of the closing sentence, in which two anapaestic lines, suggestive of measured advance, are followed by a swift dactylic and trochaic movement:—

τὰ τελευταῖ' εἰς Μαραθῶν' ἀπέβη
καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας
ᾗχετ' ἔχων τριήρη.

*Till, at the last, he landed at Marathon,
And, there seizing the sacred trireme,
Carried it off from the country.*

308. ὑμεῖς—δύνασθε κωλύειν κτλ., 'while you are even now unable to prevent these things, nor can you send succours by the appointed time' (2 § 20 οὐκ εἰς μακράν, and 8 § 18).

'Quanquam ea quae Demosthenes commemoraverat, antea facta erant, tamen orator iure tempore praesenti uti poterat, cum videret nihil Athenienses curavisse, ne iterum fieret quod saepissime factum erat' (Sauppe *Ep. Crit.* p. 43).

§ 35 l. 311. τῶν Παναθηναίων: the greater Panathenaea were held before the middle of August in the third year of every Olympiad (e.g. in 350 B.C., the year after the delivery of this speech; and in 354 B.C., three years before it); the lesser, in the same month in each year. The superintendence of the numerous contests, musical, equestrian, or gymnastic, was assigned to the ten *Athlothetae* (Aristotle *Const. of Athens* 60 § 1). The festival closed with a magnificent procession of horsemen, under the command of their officers. Cp. l. 227.

312. τῶν Διονυσίων: the great Dionysia were celebrated, with musical and dramatic exhibitions, during five days at the end of March. The other Dionysiac festivals were known as the rural Dionysia, the Anthesteria, and the Lenaea. τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου, 'at the appropriate time'; Gen. of Time. 19 § 185 ὅταν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καθήκη, 23 § 68 ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις καθήκει, [43] § 67 ἐν ταῖς καθηκούσαις ἡμέραις.

313. ἂν τε . . ἂν τε: § 19 κἀν . . κἀν. δεινός: opposed to ἰδιῶται, as ἔμπειροι to ἄπειροι, 'experts' to 'unqualified persons.' λάχωσιν, 'be appointed by lot.' In the case of the Panathenaea, the reference is to the ten *Athlothetae*, who were appointed by lot, Aristotle *Const. of Athens* 60 § 1 κληροῦσι . . ἀθλοθέτας. In that of the Dionysia, the reference is in the first instance to the *Archon*, who was appointed in the same manner, ib. 55 § 1 κληροῦσιν . . ἄρχοντα.

It is uncertain whether the ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν Διονυσίων are also meant. The verb ἐπιμελεῖσθαι (used below) is not necessarily limited to them. The officials to whom it is here applied certainly include the *Athlothetae* and the chief *Archon*, and in Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* the verb is used of a variety of officials other than ἐπιμεληταί, viz. the πρόεδροι (44 § 3), the βουλή (46 § 1), the ἀστυνόμοι (50 § 2), the ἀγορανόμοι (51 § 1), the σιτοφύλακες (51 § 3), and the ἑνδεκα (52 § 1), all of whom were appointed by lot, and also the σωφρονιστής (42 § 3), who alone was elected. It is also applied to the *Archon*, εὐρτών ἐπιμελεῖται (56 § 5), ὀρφανῶν ἐπιμελεῖται (56 § 7), τούτων ἐπιμελεῖται (57 § 1). It is impossible to apply it here to the ἐπιμεληταὶ alone, to the exclusion of the *Archon* and the *Athlothetae*.

The ἐπιμεληταὶ (τῆς πομπῆς) were minor officials who assisted the *Archon* in managing the procession in the greater Dionysia. The ἄρχων and the ἐπιμεληταὶ receive a joint vote of thanks for their management of the

Dionysia in 281 B.C. (Dittenberger *Sylloge* ii no. 382; cp. *CIA.* ii 420, 35; circa 188 B.C.) The *locus classicus* with respect to these ἐπιμεληταί is Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* 56 § 4 πομπῶν δ' ἐπιμελεῖται (ὁ ἄρχων) . . καὶ τῆς Διονυσίων τῶν μεγάλων μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν, οὓς πρότερον μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐχειροτῶνει δέκα ὄντας . . νῦν δ' ἓνα τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης κληροῖ. Now in *Dem.* 21 § 15 Meidias is described as elected ἐπιμελητής by open voting, κελεύων ἑαυτὸν εἰς Διονύσια χειροτονεῖν ἐπιμελητὴν. The speech against Meidias is assigned by Dionysius to Ol. 107, 4, 349 B.C. If so, the Dionysia at which Demosthenes was insulted by Meidias belonged to March 350 B.C.; Demosthenes was probably appointed χορηγός at the beginning of the previous Attic year, July 351 B.C., and it was probably at the same date that Meidias was appointed an ἐπιμελητής for the same Dionysia. If we place the *First Philippic* early in 351 B.C., we find, in July of that year, the ἐπιμεληταί still elected by open voting, so that the later method of appointing them by lot (mentioned by Aristotle) must have come into force after the date of Meidias' appointment, *a fortiori* after the date of this speech, which is in any case earlier than that appointment, whether we place the speech against Meidias in 349 B.C. (with Dionysius and ASchaefer) or in 347 B.C. (with Weil and Blass). Thus λάχωσιν is inapplicable to the ἐπιμεληταί at the date when the *First Philippic* was delivered.

This discrepancy leads Blass to suggest that in 347 B.C., when Demosthenes was a member of the Council, he renewed his proposal for a standing force, and, after submitting it to the Council, brought it before the Assembly in a revised form. In this case ἡμεῖς in § 30 would refer to members of the *Council* and to a *προβούλευμα* of that body (Seebeck *Z. f. Alt.* 1838 p. 784). If the scheme was formally approved by the people, though not actually carried into effect, it may have been mentioned by Philochorus in connexion with the events of the year, and Dionysius may have thereby been led to assign the latter part of the speech to a later date than §§ 1-29. Blass suggests that § 30 and ἀγὼ γέγραφα (§ 33), as well as καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων and ἐκατέρων (§ 35), belong to the speech in its later form. He admits, however, that this last section, as a whole, must belong to the earlier date (351 B.C.); otherwise, Olynthus would have been added to the list of places to which Athens had failed to send timely aid (*Att. Ber.* III i 304 f).

As an alternative we may suggest the simpler expedient of supposing that in λάχωσιν Demosthenes adopts a word applicable to the *Athlothetae* and the *Archon*, and that the *Epimeletae* are disregarded as minor officials in comparison with the *Archon*, especially as they were concerned with the procession alone.

314. [οἶ] may possibly be retained; in which case οἱ ἐπιμελησόμενοι would be the subject, δεινοί κτλ. the predicate:— 'whether the lot falls on experts or on ordinary persons to attend to these festivals.' In denoting a person *who can, shall, or will* do something, the article is usually prefixed to the future participle (e.g. [58] § 29 τὸν—τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελησόμενον), the present participle, *persons who do*, being rarely used (see cxx. in *Madvig Syntax* § 180 b R 1, or *Goodwin MT.* § 826).

ἐπιμελησόμενοι: for the Nom. after λάχωσιν cp. Aeschin. 3 § 28 ἔλαχε τειχοποιός, [Dem.] 59 § 72 λαχόντα βασιλέα, and especially 21 § 227 δικάσοντες εἰλήχατε.

315. τοσαῦτ(α)—χρήματα: *Plut. de gloria Atheniensium* c. 6 p. 349 ἂν γὰρ ἐκλογισθῇ τῶν δραμάτων ἕκαστον ὅσου κατέστη,

πλέον ἀνηλωκῶς φανέϊται ὁ δῆμος εἰς Βάκχας καὶ Φοινίσσας καὶ Οἰδίποδας καὶ Ἀντιγόνην, καὶ τὰ Μηδείας κακὰ καὶ Ἡλέκτρας, ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πολεμῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνάλωσαν. [Plato] *Alc.* ii 148 E.

At a Panathenaic festival, as we learn from an inscription of 410 B.C., 5114 drachmae were paid from the treasury of Athena to the superintendents of sacrifices (ἱεροποιοί), while the Athlothetae, whose duty it was to attend to the festal games, received at the same time 5 talents and 1000 drachmae, sums which must be regarded as only a small part of the whole expenses of the festival. The statement in the text cannot be treated as an exaggeration, when we remember the splendour of the theatrical representations, the furnishing of the stage and of the choruses, the payment of the poets and actors, and the prizes awarded to the victors, and when we consider that this was far from exhausting all the expenses of the festival (Schömann *Antiquities of Greece* p. 443 Engl. ed.)

οὐδ' εἰς ἓνα : 5 § 11 οὐδ' εἰς μίαν, 5 § 1 μηδὲ καθ' ἓν, 24 § 184 οὐδὲ πρὸς ἓν.

316. ἀποστόλων, 'naval armaments,' § 45 end. Harpocr. ἀπόστολοι δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπομπαί. τοσοῦτον— παρασκευήν : Acc. after ἔχει, understood from the relative clause, with Nom. ἃ supplied from the preceding εἰς ἃ. τοσαύτην is implied before παρασκευήν (and indeed is practically contained in the following ὅσῃν), 5 § 10 τοιαύτας ἐλπίδας καὶ φενακισμοὺς οἷς. ὄχλον (21 § 59), as distinguished from παρασκευήν (21 §§ 11, 16, 26, 106), refers to the vast crowds taking part in the processions and the dramatic exhibitions, as contrasted with the magnificence of the decorations and other accessories. This seems better than taking ὄχλον and παρασκευήν as a hendiadys and comparing ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀχλώδους τῆς παρασκευῆς (Thuc. vi 24, 3).

317. ἔχει, 'involve.'

318. ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν : 18 § 102.

319. Μεθόνην, W. of the gulf of Therma, captured by Philip in 353 B.C. ; Παγασάς, the harbour of Pherae in Thessaly, captured in 352 B.C. ; Ποτείδαιαν, the key of the peninsula of Pallene, captured in 356 B.C. In all three cases the Athenian succours arrived too late. Potidaea is mentioned last as the most important. The chronological order is preferred in 1 §§ 9, 12.

§ 36 l. 320. νόμῳ : 21 §§ 9, 11. Some of the laws relating to the Panathenaea and the Dionysia are collected in Telfy's *Corpus Iuris Attici* §§ 428-448, 490-499.

321. ἐκ πολλοῦ : in the case of the Dionysia, the χορηγοί would probably be known eight months beforehand, in July for the following March. This was conjectured by Voemel and

Rehdantz (ASchaefer *Dem.* ii 111² note 1). It is now known for certain from Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* 56 § 3.

322. **τίς**: sc. *ἔσται*, 3 § 17. **χορηγός**, 'choral steward' rather than 'choir-master.' It was the duty of the *choregus* to bear the expense of providing and training the chorus in public representations, whether in the theatre, in connexion with tragic, satyric, or comic dances, or elsewhere, as in lyric choruses of men or boys, in pyrrhic or cyclic dances, or in performances on the flute. The ceremonies at which a *choregus* was required were those of the greater Dionysia, the Lenaea, the Thargelia, and the Panathenaea (*Dem. Lept. Introd.* p. iv ed. Sandys). **γυμνασάρχος**, 'superintendent of the festal games,' especially the torch-race in the festivals of Prometheus, Hephaestus and Pan, and also in the Panathenaea, the Lenaea, perhaps also in the Thesea, and in certain funeral ceremonies (*ib.* p. viii). **τῆς φυλῆς**: the *ἐγκύκλιοι* *λητουργίαι* above mentioned were never intermitted, but passed in regular rotation through the ten tribes. The members of each tribe, acting through the *ἐπιμεληταὶ* *τῆς φυλῆς*, decided who should undertake the duty in each instance; and in so doing they were guided by a prescribed order of rotation (*ib.* pp. iii, vi). Cp. 39 § 7. According to Aristotle *Const. of Athens* 56 § 3, it was only in the case of comic choruses that the *tribes* nominated the *choregus*. **πότε**: asyndeton.

323. **τί . . τί**: note on § 3 l. 22. **λαβόντα**: some understand *χορηγὸν ἢ γυμνασάρχον*, and infer that the State made a grant, though they admit that there is no evidence for this in the case of the *λητουργίαι* above mentioned, but only in the *ἀρχιθεωρία* and the *τριηραρχία* (so Westermann). The *χορηγοί* had in fact to make payments and not to receive them. It is therefore better to understand *ἕκαστον ὑμῶν*, 'each of you,' so far as he is respectively concerned in any of the above festivals (so Blass). Thus the composers of competing tragedies or comedies know that they must receive a chorus (*χορὸν λαμβάνειν*) from the Archon; the Archon, again, knows that he must receive the names of the *χορηγοί* from the officials connected with the tribes (Aristotle l.c.); and the *ἐπιμεληταὶ* of the great Dionysia know that they must receive a grant of 100 minae from the State towards the expenses of the procession in the greater Dionysia (*ib.* § 4).

324. **οὐδέν**: asyndeton; 'nothing is left unascertained or undefined'; the adjectives may be described as proleptic (§ 8 l. 75), or as predicative, giving the *result* of *ἡμέλῃται*, 1 § 28.

326. **ἄτακτ' ἀδιόρθωτ' ἀόρισθ' ἅπαντα**, 'all is irregular,

unsettled, indefinite,' 'unarranged, unrevised, undefined,' opp. *το πάντα νόμῳ τέτακται*.

Cp. 9 § 40 ἄχρηστ' ἄπρακτ' ἀνόνητα, [25] § 52 ἄσπειστος ἀνίδρυτος ἄμικτος, Plato *Phaedr.* 240 A ἀγαμον ἀπαιδα ἄοικον, Eur. *Iph. T.* 220 ἀγαμος ἀτεκνος ἀπολις ἄφιλος, Milton *Par. Lost* ii 185 *Unrespited, unpitied, unreprieved* (with Todd's note).

327. *τοιγαροῦν*, 'the result is that.' ἄμ' ἀκηκόαμέν *τι κτλ.*, 'it is not until we have heard some news that we, etc.' Isocr. 4 § 157, Dem. 8 § 11 ἐπειδὴν πυθώμεθά τι γιγνόμενον, *τηνικαῦτα* θορυβούμεθα καὶ παρασκευαζόμεθα, and 18 § 32.

τριηράρχους: in earlier times trierarchs were appointed in advance. Such were the persons to whom Themistocles assigned the duty of building ships. Such also were the trierarchs of the 100 vessels set apart in 431 B.C. for the defence of Attica (Thuc. ii 4); and lastly, the 400 annual trierarchs mentioned in a work of the fifth century, [Xen.] *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* (3 § 4). The naval archives of Athens show that this arrangement continued still longer. But at the time of the delivery of this speech we find that the trierarchs were not appointed until a fleet was to be prepared for active service. At a later period, however, the trierarchs were once more appointed permanently. The appointment rested with the generals (Boeckh *Publ. Econ.* bk. iv c. 11 p. 696 Lamb).

τριηράρχους καθίσταμεν: 35 § 48, 39 § 8.

328. *τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα*, 'we cause them to go through exchanges of property.' These 'exchanges' were under the supervision of the *στρατηγοί*, who are said *ποιεῖν τὰς ἀντιδόσεις*, 'to superintend the exchanges of property'; [42] § 5 (in August) ἐποιοῦν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῖς τριακοσίοις τὰς ἀντιδόσεις, Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* 61 § 1 (one of the *στρατηγοί*) τοὺς τε *τριηράρχους* καταλέγει καὶ τὰς ἀντιδόσεις αὐτοῖς ποιεῖ. If any one nominated as a trierarch thought that a man wealthier than himself had been passed over, he might challenge the latter either to undertake the duty or to exchange properties. On *ἀντιδόσεις* see *Dict. Antiq.*, Boeckh *Publ. Econ.* bk. iv c. 16, or Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* i 404², 361 Engl. ed.

330. *τοὺς μετοίκους*, 'resident aliens.' They were liable to military service. Pericles describes them as only manning the walls (Thuc. ii 13); but they also took part in expeditions outside Attica, e.g. to Megara (Thuc. ii 31), Boeotia (iv 90), and the coasts of Peloponnesus (iii 16); cp. i 143, 1 ἐσβάντων αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μετοίκων. Cp. Isocr. 8 § 48. ἔδοξε: either a gnomic aor. or (less probably) a reference to a special case.

τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας, 'freedmen,' who had left their masters' house and 'lived apart.' οἱ ἀπελευθεροὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ὄκουν, *χωρὶς τῶν ἀπελευθερωσάντων*. ἐν δὲ τῷ τέως

δουλεύοντες ἔτι συνῶκουν (Harpocration, who had before him a copy of Demosthenes in which τῶν δεσποτῶν was added), [47] § 72 ἀφείτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐλευθέρα καὶ χωρὶς ὧκε καὶ ἄνδρα ἔσχεν.

331. **πάλιν** : ἐμβαίνειν. **ἀντεμβιβάζειν**, 'to send substitutes on board'; Absolute, as ἐμβιβάσας in Thuc. ii 90, 3; ib. vii 13 ἀνδράποδα Ἑκκαρικὰ ἀντεμβιβάσαι ὑπὲρ σφῶν πείσαντες τοὺς τριηράρχους.

332. **ἐν ὧσφ**—**μέλλεται**, 'during all this delay'; Thuc. v 111 ὑμῶν τὰ ἰσχυρότατα ἐλπίζόμενα μέλλεται, Xen. *Anab.* iii 1, 47 ὡς μὴ μέλλοιτο, ἀλλὰ περαινοίτο τὰ δέοντα. The second person (μέλλετε) would be out of place in this sentence. **ἐφ' ἃν ἐκπλέωμεν**, 'the object of our expedition.'

§ 37 l. 334. **παρασκευάζεσθαι** involves no real *hiatus* before ἀναλίσκομεν, as the αἰ admits of elision. **πραγμάτων . . καιροί**, 'opportunities offered by circumstances,' 3 § 6 ἐτέρου πολέμου καιρός : or (better) 'opportunities for action,' 9 § 38 τὸν καιρὸν ἐκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων, 19 § 6 πολλάκις . . συμβαίνει πολλῶν πραγμάτων καὶ μεγάλων καιρὸν ἐν βραχεὶ χρόνῳ γίγνεσθαι.

335. **οὐ μένουσιν** : Thuc. i 142 τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί, Aeschin. 3 § 163 ῥητορικὴν δειλίαν δημόσιος καιρὸς οὐκ ἀναμένει, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 429 οὐκ ἀναμένει ἡ τύχη τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας μελλήσεις, Livy xxxi 48, 10 non exspectare belli temeraria moras et dilutiones imperatorum. **βραδυτήτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν**, 'dilatatoriness and evasion'; § 8 βραδυτήτα καὶ ῥαθυμίαν, cp. § 11 ἀμέλειαν. On εἰρωνείαν see § 7.

336. **ὡς**—**ὑπάρχειν** : relative clause serving as subject to ἐξελέγχονται. **τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον**, 'the interval (already indicated in βραδυτήτα and μέλλεται) which elapses before the completion of our dilatory preparations.' The phrase may be construed either with οἴομεθα or (better) with ὑπάρχειν.

337. **δυνάμεις** : the mercenaries of § 24. **οἳ τ' οὖσαι** : dependent on ἐξελέγχονται. Cf. ὦν (19 § 284), ὄντα ([47] § 9), and other participles in 2 § 13, [7] § 36, 19 § 60, 21 § 115, 23 § 195, [43] § 50, [47] § 40; participle omitted in 45 § 36 ἐξελέγχεται ψευδῇ. On οἷός τ' (and οἷός) ἐστί see 2 § 17, and 4 § 9.

338. **ποιεῖν** : for the Inf. cp. 1 § 26 οὐχ οἷοί τ' ὄντες φυλάττειν, 19 §§ 6, 76, 303; 20 § 23, 23 § 207, [13] § 19.

339. **ὁ** : Philip. **εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως ἐλήλυθεν** : 21 § 65; similarly after εἰς τοῦτο § 47, 9 § 54 ἀφίχθε μωρίας, 36 § 46 ἤκει ἀγνωμοσύνης and § 48 μανίας, 45 § 73 ἤκει ἀναιδείας, 22 § 78 προήχθητ' εὐθελείας καὶ εὐσεβείας, 27 § 46 αἰσχροκερδείας ἦλθεν,

57 § 64 ἀναιδείας ἐλήλυθεν. Also after εἰς τοσοῦτο, 21 § 62 ἀναιδείας, 51 § 19 ἀναισθησίας, 24 § 182 ἀναισθησίας καὶ τόλμης. Cp. § 9 οἱ ἀσελγείας.

341. ἐπιστολᾶς: ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐστὶν οὗτος: ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπέστειλεν Εὐβοέσιν συμβουλευόντων μὴ δεῖν ἐλπίζειν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν, οἱ οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς δύνανται σῶζειν (schol.) In 350 (or 348) B.C. Philip actually succeeded in making a breach between the Athenians and the Euboeans who had been their allies since 357. For similar headings (or λήμματα) cp. § 30, 6 § 28 ἀπόκρισις, 9 § 46 ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου ἀναγιγνώσκει.

§ 38 l. 342. ὥς οὐκ ἔδει, 'unhappily.'

343. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ(ά): 1 § 4; here correlative of μέν. οὐχ ἡδέ(α): 3 § 10. Cp. Fox on *Megulop.* pp. 49 f.

344. τις: e.g. Eubulus; *Prooem.* 1 p. 1419, 14 ὅς' ἂν τῷ λόγῳ τις ὑπερβῇ λυπῆσαι μὴ βουλόμενος, followed by καὶ τὰ—ἐαυτούς.

345. ὑπερβήσεται: the Subject is probably not τις, but τὰ πράγματα, 'if . . . the facts would only pass over what one passes over in speaking'; Plato *Parm.* 152 B. Otherwise we should expect, not τὰ πράγματα, but τοῖς ἔργοις, ὑπερβήσεται. πρὸς ἡδονήν: § 51 πρὸς χάριν.

346. χάρις, 'complaisance,' 'agreeableness,' 3 § 21. μὴ προσήκουσα, 'out of place.'

347. ἔργῳ ζημία γίγνεται, 'becomes disastrous in action,' 1 § 27, 3 § 32.

348. φενακίζειν: 2 § 7.

349. ὑστερεῖν: 19 § 332, Xen. *Anab.* i 7, 12.

§ 39 l. 351. οὐκ belongs to δεῖ, not to ἀκολουθεῖν, which would require μή. For the sense cp. 24 § 95 τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου καιροῖς ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ μηδενὸς ὑστερίζειν, Livy ix 18 *reges . . domini rerum temporumque trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur*.

352. ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι=355. ἡγεῖσθαι.

353. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ . . , οὕτω: 1 § 15.

355. τῶν πραγμάτων: sc. ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖ ἀξιοῦν.

356. ἐκείνοις refers to τοὺς βουλευομένους. ἐκείνοις is preferred to τούτοις because ταῦτα occurs in the same clause.

357. μὴ . . ἀναγκάζονται: sc. οἱ βουλευόμενοι. τὰ συμβάντ(α)—διώκειν, 'follow the course of (chase after) events' instead of guiding them, Sallust *Jug.* 1 *neque regerentur magis*

quam regerent casus, Cic. *pro Balbo* § 9 *an ingenium* (*abest Pompeio*), *cum etiam ipsi casus eventusque rerum non duces sed comites eius consiliorum fuerint?*

§ 40 l. 358. **πλείστην—πρόσοδον**: 24 § 216 ἔσθ' ὅ τι κωλύει τὴν πόλιν μεγίστην εἶναι; οὐ τριήρεις ὅσας οὐδεμία πόλις Ἑλληνὶς κέκτηται; οὐχ ὀπλίτας; οὐχ ἱππέας; οὐ πρόσδους; In 14 § 13 (354 B.C.) the ships are reckoned at 300, the horsemen at 1000, the hoplites at 'as many as one pleases,' cp. ib. § 30. See Boeckh *Publ. Econ.* bk. ii c. 21, iv c. 4.

361. **εἰς δέον τι**, 'for any proper purpose,' § 14; 3 § 28 ἀνηλώκαμεν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον, Herod. ii 173 εἰς τὸ δέον. . χρᾶσθαι, Aristotle *Const. of Athens*, 30 § 4 ὅπως ἂν (τὰ χρήματα) εἰς τὸ δέον ἀναλίσκῃται, Aristoph. *Nub.* 859 εἰς τὸ δέον ἀπώλεσα (Plut. *Per.* 23 § 1).

362. **οὐδὲν δ' ἀπολείπετε—πολεμεῖν**, 'your war with Philip differs in no respect from the boxing of barbarians' (K.), lit. 'in no respect do you fall short of fighting with Philip as though etc.'; *nihil reliquum facitis, quin, ut barbari luctantur, sic cum Philippo bellum geratis* (Sauppe). Plato *Symp.* 182 B τοῖς βαρβάροις αἰσχροὺν . . ἢ φιλογυμνασία.

'The Athenians, like awkward pugilists, waited for Philip to strike and then put up their hands to follow his blow. They never sought to look him in the face—nor to be ready with a good defensive system beforehand—nor to anticipate him in offensive operations' (Grote viii 64).

For the cogn. Acc. **οὐδὲν** cp. 9 § 32 τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; 54 § 4 ἀσελγείας καὶ ὕβρεως οὐδ' ὅτιοι οὐν ἀπέλειπον, Isaeus 1 § 27 οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως, Plato *Phaedo* 69 D ὦν . . οὐδὲν ἀπέλιπον . . γενέσθαι. Also Thuc. vii 70 βραχὺ . . ἀπέλιπον . . γενέσθαι, Plut. *Timol.* 1 ἡ πόλις μικρὸν ἀπέλιπεν ἔρημος εἶναι.

Another reading, οὐδενὸς δ' ἀπολείπεσθε, is variously rendered:—'you are busy enough notwithstanding,' or 'yet you take care to be everywhere' (Dobree), 'there is nothing in which you do not interfere' (Whiston), *nihil intactum relinquitis, nihil non assectamini s. affectatis* (GHSchaefer), *a nemine vincimini sapientia, sagacitate* (Reiske), *minime autem imperiti estis* (Voemel). ἀπολείπεσθαι with Gen. is found in 18 § 257 μηδεμίαν φιλοτιμίαν ἀπολείπεσθαι ('fall short'), [34] § 38 οὐδενὸς τούτων ἀπολελείμεθα, 27 § 2 μήτ' ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν πραγμάτων, [44] § 8 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων (opp. τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τοῦ ἀγώνος) ὑμᾶς οὐδενὸς ἀπολειφθήσεσθαι, Proem. 43, 2 φάσκοντας μὴδένων ἀπολείπεσθαι τῷ σωφρονεῖν, Lysias 20 § 25 οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα κινδύνον ἀπελείπομην, Isocr. 12 § 12 τὴν φύσιν . . ἀπασῶν ἀπολελείμεν.

364. **ὁ πληγὴς . . πατάξῃ**: in Attic Prose ἐπάταξα and ἐπλήγην correspond to one another as Aor. Act. and Pass. of τύπτω. Lys. 4 § 15 πότερον ἐπλήγην ἢ ἐπάταξα, and 1 §§ 25–7, where πατάξας καταβάλλω is followed by πληγὴς κατέπεσεν. Similarly in Thuc. viii 92 ὁ Φρόνιχος πληγὴς is followed by ὁ πατάξας διέφυγεν. (For further examples see *Select Private*

Orations of Demosthenes, ed. 1896, 'On the defective verb τύπτω,' p. 236.) With ἄν . . πατάξῃ τις cp. 21 §§ 32 f ἄν ὑβρίσῃ τις ἢ κακῶς εἶπῃ, . . ἄτιμος ἔσται . . καὶ . . ἐὰν ἐστεφανωμένοι πατάξῃ τις ἢ κακῶς εἶπῃ (where S alone has πατάξῃς and εἶπῃς, the other reading being preferred by Cobet *MC.* 505). The second pers. is found in 5 § 12 ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερ' ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνην ἀργύριον προσενέγκῃς. αἶ, 'every time.'

τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται, 'feels for (clings to) the blow.' Virgil *Aen.* ix 577 ille manum proiecto tegmine demens ad vulnus tulit.

365. ἐκεῖσ' εἰσὶν αἱ χεῖρες, 'there go his hands again.' ἐκεῖσε and εἰσὶν form a comprehensive expression combining the notions of movement and of rest, the adverb of motion being partly suggested by ἐτέρωσε. For the sense cp. line quoted in Plut. *de garrulitate* 513 E ὅπου τις ἀλγεί, κείσε (Scaliger, for κείθι) καὶ τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχει. προβάλλεσθαι, to 'ward off' the blow by putting the arm in front of him, 'to guard'; ἀντὶ τοῦ προτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην (Harpocr.), Xen. *Cyrop.* ii 3 10 ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἡπιστάμην πρὸ τούτων ὃ τι ᾤμην πληγήσεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλο μηδὲν ἔχοιμι, τῷ χεῖρε προέχων ἐνεπύδιζον ὃ τι ἐδυνάμην τὸν παλόντα· καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν οὐ διδασκόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ παύομενος εἰ προβαλοίμην. Cp. 18 § 97, 19 § 27. Apollonius *lex. Homer.* προτιβάλλεαι . . οἱ πυκτεύοντες τῇ προβολῇ κωλύουσι. Harpocraton (less satisfactorily) says: ἀντὶ τοῦ προτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην.

366. ἐναντίον, 'in the face.' Gellius xiii 28 (after Panaetius) *sicut pancratiastae . . proiectis alte brachii consistunt caputque et os suum manibus oppositis quasi vallo praeiungunt, ita mens viri prudentis, adversus vim et petulantius iniuriarum . . providens, consilia cogitationesque contra fortunae verbera . . quasi brachia et manus protendens, etc.*

οἶδεν: with Inf. in the sense of *to know how to do anything* (Goodwin *MT.* § 915²).

§ 41 l. 367. καὶ ὑμεῖς: referring back to καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων, 1 § 11, 3 § 18, 9 § 70. ἐν Χερρονήσῳ . . ἐν Πύλαις: § 17. πύθησθε: sc. ὄντα, cp. § 18.

369. συμπαράθειτ' ἄνω κάτω, 'you run after his heels up and down' (K.), 'over hill and dale'; 2 § 16.

370. στρατηγείσθ(ε), 'you make your very enemy Philip your own general,' by following him wherever he goes; Xen. *Anab.* iii 2, 27 ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ.

371. οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προορᾷτ' οὐδέν: alliterative and pleonastic, followed by the epexegetic phrase πρὶν ἄν—

πίυθησθε. Aeschin. 2 § 61 προῦφαιρῶν . . πρίν (Goodwin *MT.* § 659).
 πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων : 5 § 2.

374. ἤκει (ταῦτα) : 2 § 5 πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν τελευτὴν ἤκει.

375. ἀκμήν, 'crisis'; Soph. *El.* 22 ἴν' οὐκέτ' ὀκνεῖν καιρός, ἀλλ' ἔργων ἀκμή. The ἀκμή is the highest point, beyond which it is impossible to go; here virtually equivalent to τελευτή (Tarbell). οὐκέτ' ἐγχωρεῖ, 'it is no longer allowable'; 8 § 2 περὶ αὐτῶν σκοπεῖν ἐγχωρεῖν ἡγοῦμαι, 30 § 39, 44 § 45, 55 § 21.

§ 42 l. 375. θεῶν τις κτλ. : by a fine touch of imagination Demosthenes declares his belief that Philip's restlessness is providentially ordered for the good of Athens.

379. κατέστραπται : §§ 6, 9. προείληφεν : § 31.

380. ἐπραττεν, 'attempted,' 'undertook.' ἀποχρῆν : sc. ταῦτα, referring to the previous sentence τὸ ἔχειν δὲ κατέστραπται κτλ. Cp. § 1, and Goodwin *MT.* § 410.

381. ἄν, though placed (as usual) near δοκεῖ, goes with ἀποχρῆν. ἐξ ὧν, 'wherefrom,' denoting the result of remissness. αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν (2 § 3) is 'to incur (the penalty of) infamy'; ἀνανδρίαν ὀφλεῖν (like δειλίαν ὀφλεῖν), 'to incur a charge of cowardice.' Here the two types of phrase are set side by side. They may be combined in the rendering—'in consequence of which we should as a nation have been branded with the shame of cowardice and the direst disgrace.'

383. τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος, 'grasping after more'; 3 § 3, [44] § 6, Thuc. iv 17, 3, Eur. *Ino* (frag. 417) ζητῶν τὰ πλείον' εἶτα πάντ' ἀπώλεσεν.

384. ἐκκαλέσαι(το), 'rouse.'

385. ἀπεγνώκατε, 'have despaired'; Absolute as in 3 § 33; also with Acc. (6 § 16) or Gen. (Xen. *Anab.* i 7, 19).

§ 43 l. 385. θαυμάζω : with object of wonder introduced by protasis with εἰ, 'I wonder that'; 2 § 24 (Goodwin *MT.* § 494).

386. μήτ' ἐνθυμεῖται μήτ' ὀργίζεται : an exceptional combination, whereas λογίζεσθαι is combined with ἐνθυμεῖσθαι in § 31 and 1 § 21. ὀργίζεται harmonises better with ὀρῶν κτλ.

387. τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν—ὕπὲρ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι (§ 7, 3 § 1) Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν—περὶ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, '(the object of) the beginning of this war was to take vengeance on Philip (for Amphipolis), (that of) the end is to avoid being ruined by Philip.' For the parallelism cp. 1 § 11 χάριν . . χάριν.

388. ὑπέρ = περί, § 1.

390. ἀλλὰ μήν : here followed by ὅτι γ' οὐ στήσεται, as by ἡλικά γ' ἐστὶν τὰ διάφορα in I § 27 ; γε in both cases emphasising the whole of the dependent clause.

391. οὐ στήσεται : followed in [10] § 10 by πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικῶν, and ib. § 36 by τοῦτο ἄνευ μεγάλου τινὸς κακοῦ (cp. *Prooem.* 41 p. 1450). εἰ μή τις with Indic. Fut. often expresses a warning ; Thuc. iii 2, 3.

The sentence would make better sense (as observed by Blass) if placed earlier, namely after ἀπεγνώκατε I. 385. We should then get ἀναμενούμεν close to παθεῖν κακῶς, to which it really refers. It is somewhat awkward to take ἀναμενούμεν as meaning 'shall we wait (for some one to hinder him)?'

εἶτα : I § 24. τοῦτ(ο) : τὸ παθεῖν κακῶς, 19 § 224 παθεῖν ἀναμένειν τὰ δεινὰ, and end of *Prooem.* 42.

392. τριήρεις κενάς : 3 § 5 ; here explained in one ms by πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως. τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐλπίδας, 'hopes inspired by this or that orator' (§ 45 τὰς παρὰ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας), rather than 'this or that general' (suggested by EMüller, as in § 46 οὐκ ἔστιν ἔν' ἄνδρα κτλ.)

393. ἂν ἀποστείλητε : for the position of ἂν cp. § 26 l. 254.

§ 44 l. 394. οὐκ ἔξιμεν . . μέρει κτλ., 'shall we not go forth with at least a part of our national forces?' Cp. Aeschin. 3 § 168 στρατεῖαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι, and Plato *Laws* 943 A στρατεῦσθαι ἐν μέρει τινι τεταγμένον.

395. νῦν—πρότερον : § 7.

397. ἤρετό τις : a rhetorical fiction, more vivid than ἔροιτ' ἂν τις. It refers to the question just quoted. εὐρήσει : 14 § 23 εἴ τι καὶ παραλείπομεν νῦν, αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἑαυτῷ εὐρήσει. Cp. 2 § 21 and Tac. *Hist.* ii 77 aperiet et recludet contexta et tumescentia victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum.

400. καθώμεθα) : § 9. λαιδορουμένων : *Prooem.* 53 §§ 1, 2.

401. λεγόντων : parallel (in sound) to δεόντων. οὐδέποτε—μή γένηται, 'nothing that we need will ever happen' ; 9 § 75, Goodwin *MT.* § 295.

§ 45 l. 403. ἂν goes with συναποσταλῆ, though it is slightly separated from its verb and from the relative ὅποι. 2 § 14 ὅποι τις ἂν, οἶμαι, προσθῆ (Goodwin *MT.* § 218). οἶμαι : 2 § 23 ἀλλ' οἶμαι καθήμεθα. τῆς πόλεως = τῶν πολιτῶν.

404. πᾶσα (ἡ πόλις) παρῆ : if παρῆ is omitted we must understand συναποσταλῆ, 'sc. mittatur cum mercenariis'

(Voemel), or ἀποσταλῆ (Sauppe). τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενές, 'the favour of Heaven'; εὐμενές is not the predicate as implied in the rendering—'Heaven blesses and Fortune favours in the struggle.' Nor, again, is it to be taken with τῆς τύχης as well as with τῶν θεῶν—'the goodwill of the Gods and of Fortune too' (Whiston).

405. τὸ τῆς τύχης: a periphrasis for ἡ τύχη, preferred to the direct term by reason of the form of the previous clause; 2 §§ 1, 22; 18 § 253, Thuc. iv 18, 3 τὸ τῆς τύχης οἶσθαι ἀεὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔσσεσθαι.

406. ψήφισμα κενόν: §§ 19, 30; τὸ λόγοις μόνον γιγνόμενον ἀνευ πραγμάτων (schol.) τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας, 'hopes from the hustings' (K.), 'hopes inspired by (this or that orator on) the platform'; cp. § 43 l. 392.

407. βήματος: the platform of the Pnyx (or place of assembly of the Athenian people). The Pnyx was first identified by Dr. Chandler, in 1765, with 'a large semicircular area or terrace, supported by stones of a vast size cut into squares, nearly opposite the rock of the Areopagus,' and situated a quarter of a mile to the SW. of it. A cubical block, hewn out of the rock, with steps on each side, was brought to light by Lord Aberdeen's excavations in 1822. This was identified with the βῆμα.

Several German scholars, however, Ulrichs 1842, Welcker 1852, ECurtius 1862, 1868, and 1891 in *Stuttgeschichte* 29 32, prefer regarding this as an altar, and the semicircular area as a τέμενος of Ζεὺς ὕψιστος, and placing the Pnyx on the NE. slope of the 'Museum hill.' This view is controverted by LRoss 1853 and by Dr. Dyer (*Ancient Athens* p. 468 and Appendix). See also *Philologus* ix 631 f, xix 374, xx 529, 574, Vischer's *Erinnerungen* p. 114 (1875), Milchhoefer in Baumeister's *Denkmäler* pp. 157 9 (1885), and Lolling's *Topographie von Athen* p. 331 (in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*).

Miss Harrison *Ancient Athens* 108 f points out that 'an ancient place of assembly and an ancient theatre had much in common. . . Each required (1) an altar, (2) a theatron, or place for spectators. The broad steps or basis of the altar was the place from which the orator spoke. . . Immediately behind it are three rows of seats cut in the rock; these serve to confirm the view (that the altar-place was in fact the ancient Bema), as it is known that the Prytaneis had seats facing the people' (Aristoph. *Ecccl.* 86).

409. τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει: with Acc. as in 19 § 81 τεθνάναι τῷ φόβῳ Θεβαίων, imitated by Arrian *Anab.* vii 9, 4 οὗς πάλαι ἐτεθνήκειτε τῷ δέει, and Aristeid. ii 210 ἕως ἔξῃ Κίμων, τεθνάναι περιῆν τοῖς βαρβάροις τῷ φόβῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. For the general sense cp. § 24 and Diodorus xv 95 (361 B.C.) (Χάρης) δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους εὐλαβούμενος, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἀδικῶν διετέλει, also Plut. *Phocion* c. 11, and c. 14 end of p. 747.

§ 46 l. 410. ἔστ' . . ἔστιν: emphatic repetition; 2 § 10.

ἐν' ἄνδρα κτλ.: cp. the proverb εἰς ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ.

412. ὑποσχέσθαι: a characteristic of Chares, whose promises were proverbial. αἱ Χάρητος ὑποσχέσεις, ἐπὶ τῶν

προχείρως ἐπαγγελλομένων πολλά (Zenob. ii 13). Charidemus, as well as Chares, may, however, be meant by ὁ στρατηγός l. 415.

415. ἀπομίσθων : here 'unpaid,' Harpocr. μισθὸν μὴ λαμβάνοντες : elsewhere 'paid off.'

416. ὑπέρ = περί, § 1.

417. ῥαδίως is most naturally taken with ψευδόμενοι. Cp. Prooem. 24 § 2 ῥαδίως οὕτω ψεύδεσθαι, [52] § 17 ῥαδίως τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυροῦντας, 55 § 7 ῥαδίως μαρτυροῦντας, [47] § 31 and [49] § 66 ῥαδίως with ἐπιорκεῖν, [43] § 78 ῥαδίως κατεφρόνησε τῶν νόμων, [44] § 3 ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ῥαδίως ἀναλίσκουσιν, 21 § 139 σιγῇ τὰ ψευδῆ ῥᾶσ' ἐπινενούντων.

ῥαδίως is taken by some editors with ὄσιν, either 'are easy to find' (EMüller), or 'remain unmolested,' 'are allowed their own way'; cp. § 32 ῥαδίως ἔσται, 'will easily take up its position' (Halm *Bemerkungen* p. 694 of *Commentationes in honorem Mommseni* 1877). Halm doubts whether the phrase in the text can be used in the sense—ὅταν τινες ἐνθάδε ῥαδίως ψεύδωνται.

418. ὅ τι ἂν τύχητε (ψηφιζόμενοι), 'at random.' τί—προσδοκᾶν, 'what *must* (καί) we expect?'

§ 47 l. 420. πῶς; 'how?' exceptionally answered by ὅταν, 'when.'

421. στρατιώτας κτλ. : predicative accusatives.

422. τῶν στρατηγουμένων : § 25.

423. τῶν εὐθυνῶν : in the technical sense, 'his audit'; not metaphorical, as in 1 § 28.

425. εἰς τοῦθ' — αἰσχύνης : § 37. In such phrases the subject is far more frequently a *person* than a *thing*. Thus in Lysias, as against nineteen examples with a person, there is only one without, viz. 14 § 2 ἀμαρτήματα . . εἰς τοσοῦτον κακίας ἀφικμένα (Frohberger ad loc.) Cp. Dem. 3 ll. 6, 33.

426. τῶν στρατηγῶν—θανάτου : 2 § 29. Probably a reference to Autocles (23 § 104), Cephisodotus (23 § 153), Leosthenes (Diod. xv 95), Callisthenes (Aeschin. 2 § 30), and Chares (ib. § 71). Sauppe.

427. κρίνεται : 2 § 25 ; usually followed by a simple Gen. ; here (as in Aeschin. 3 § 52) by περὶ θανάτου to correspond with the construction necessary after ἀγωνίσασθαι.

429. ἀνδραποδιστῶν, 'kidnappers,' often coupled with λωποδυτῶν, 'thieves' (lit. 'clothes-stealers'), 9 § 22 ; both of them species of the genus κακοῦργοι, 'malefactors' (Meier u. Schömann *Att. Proc.* p. 86 Lipsius).

430. λωποδυτῶν θάνατον : Lys. 13 § 68 (of a λωποδυτῆς)

ὕμεις κρίναντες . . καὶ καταγνόντες αὐτοῦ θάνατον, ἀποτυμπανίσαι ἀπέδοτε, Xen. *Mem.* i 2, 62.

431. προσήκοντος θανάτου.

§ 48 l. 433. περιόντες (§ 10), near the beginning of the sentence, echoed by περιερχόμεθα at the end. Cp. § 41 πύθησθε repeated, and 2 §§ 6, 7 ἡύξημένου . . ἡύξῃ. The rhetorical term for this figure of speech is κύκλος. μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων —τὴν Θηβαίων: it is mainly the friends of Sparta among the Athenians who are here described as retailing Philip's specious promises of 'concerting with Sparta the destruction (or humiliation) of Thebes,' and 'breaking up the free states' in Boeotia and Arcadia (ASchaefer *Dem.* ii 75²). There were similar rumours in 344 B.C. (6 § 14). The fall of Thebes was to be brought about by the restoration of Orchomenus, Thespieae and Plataea (16 §§ 4, 25; Grote c. 87 viii 43). This was contemplated by Sparta after the successes of the Phocian commander, Onomarchus, in 353 B.C. (ASchaefer i 511²), and actually carried out after the battle of Chaeroneia in 338 (iii 19²).

435. τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν: dependent on φασί, 'to break up the free states,' by transforming them into oligarchies. 8 § 43 τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας, [17] § 10 τὰς πολιτείας . . καταλύωσι, 15 § 20 τοὺς τὰς πολιτείας καταλύοντας καὶ μεθίσταντας εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν. Cp. διοικίζειν in 5 § 10, 16 § 30, 19 § 81, Isocr. 5 § 43. οἱ δ' ὥς . . πέπομφεν instead of οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις πεπομφέναι ὥς βασιλέα, which would have involved a slight *hiatus*. The regular infinitival construction after φασί is thus changed into the exceptional construction with ὥς. Goodwin *MT.* § 753, 2.

Some (e.g. Rehdantz) would even prefer restoring the Infinitive and supposing ὥς to have come in by mistake from ὥς βασιλέα. The same variation, however, occurs in Isocr. 17 § 25 οὗτος μὲν ἀφείσθαι φησι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἐγὼ δ' ὥς ἔδει με παρὰ τούτου κομίσασθαι τὸ χρυσίον. In other parallel passages ὅτι in Dem. 22 § 23 and ὥς in 27 § 19 are (as in the text) distant from the verb. In 20 § 135 and 24 § 204 the clause with ὅτι begins the sentence; in 16 § 20 and 19 § 88 it is in apposition to τούτο in τούτο φῆ, and in 21 § 98 it is separated by another sentence from τί φήσετε (WGRutherford *Classical Review* 1896 x 6; cp. Karlowa *Progr.* 1883 p. 4). In Lys. 7 § 19 Weidner brackets [ὥς φησιν] before ὥς. Cp. *Am. Journ. Phil.* iv 88, 531, xvi 395.

436. πρέσβεις κτλ.: that these negotiations with Persia were not a mere rumour only is shown by a letter sent by Darius to Alexander, stating that Philip had entered into an alliance with Artaxerxes (III) Ochus (Arrian ii 14, 2, quoted by ASchaefer *Dem.* ii 33²). ὥς: for εἰς or πρὸς, only found with the Acc. of persons. βασιλέα: without the Article, often

used of the king of Persia.

ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς (1 § 23)—**τειλεῖν**: a rumour probably founded on fact. Justin viii 3, 7 (before attacking Olynthus, Philip) *per regna mittit et opulentissimas civitates, qui opinionem sererent regem Philippum magna pecunia locare et viros et civitates et fana et templa facienda* (ASchaefer *Dem.* ii 27²).

437. οἱ δὲ—**περιερχόμεθα**: a fresh turn is given to the last clause, as in § 37 after the last εἶτα, and in 19 § 73 after the last ὥς.

§ 49 l. 439. **μεθύειν**: metaphorical, as in Plato *Rep.* 562 D ἀκράτου (ἐλευθερίας) μεθυσθῇ, Hor. *Odes* i 37, 12 *fortuna dulci ebria*.

441. **ὄνειροπολεῖν**: with Acc. Aristoph. *Nub.* 16 ὄνειροπολεῖ θ' ἵππους. **ἐρημίαν**—**κωλυσόντων**: 20 § 74 τοὺς κωλύοντας, [13] § 19 τῆς τῶν ἐναντιωσομένων ἐρημίας ἀπολαύων, Lys. 12 § 98 ἐρημία τῶν ἐπικουρησόντων, Isocr. 14 § 61 and 19 § 29, Thuc. ii 51, 5, supra § 23 τὴν παραταξομένην, Soph. *Ant.* 261 οὐδ' ὁ κωλύσων παρῇν. Goodwin *MT.* § 840. Cp. l. 314.

442. **ἐπηρμένον**: 32 § 10, 37 § 2; 18 § 168 ἐπαρθεῖς (of Philip).

443. οὐ μέντοι . . οὕτω γε: 49 § 38 οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτό γ' ἔφασαν (the reading of S for οὐ μέντοι γ'). Here the mss wrongly place γε after μέντοι, similarly after μή, in 14 § 32, now corrected into εἰ δὲ μὴ τῶν γ' ὑπαρχόντων.

§ 50 l. 448. **τὰ**—**ἀποστερεῖ**, 'keeps us out of our own'; 27 §§ 12, 24, 37; 18 § 13, 31 § 6, 36 § 36, 49 § 2.

449. **ἡλπίσαμεν** . . (452) **ἀναγκασθησόμεθα**: Ind. of direct discourse retained, as usual, after primary tense (Goodwin *MT.* § 689, 1).

450. **τινα**: e.g. Philip, Onomarchus, Cersobleptes, or Charidemus.

ὑπέρ: contrasted with καθ' ἡμῶν, 3 § 12.

εὐρηται: sc. πράξας (25 § 7), or πραχθέντα (19 § 241).

451. **ἐν**—**ἡμῖν ἐστί**, 'depends on ourselves,' 'is in our own hands'; 23 § 24, Lys. 25 § 8, Herod. vi 109.

κὰν μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν, 'if we shall not now be willing,' νῦν referring to the time immediately following the present; 'if we are not now willing' would be expressed by εἰ μὴ νῦν ἐθέλομεν (Goodwin *MT.* § 444).

452. ὥς: the doubt expressed here vanishes in the *Olynthiacs*.

453. **ἀν ταῦτ' εἰδῶμεν**: resumed from ll. 446 f.

454. ἐσόμεθ(α), combined with the Perf. Participles forms a Fut. Perf. (Goodwin *MT.* § 80).

456. φαῦλ(α) : sc. ἔσται.

457. εὖ εἰδέναι : sc. δεῖ.

§ 51 l. 459. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν : a frequent formula for introducing the peroration by marking the contrast between the speaker's attitude and that of others. οὔτ(ε) followed by τε, 18 § 216, 20 § 76, 24 §§ 29, 74 etc. ἄλλοτε : the deliberative (or parliamentary) speeches previously delivered by Demosthenes were *Or.* 14 περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν, 15 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥοδίων ἐλευθερίας, and 16 ὑπὲρ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν. The only extant forensic speech already delivered by himself in a public cause was *Or.* 20 πρὸς Λεπτίνην. πρὸς χάριν : § 38 πρὸς ἡδονήν.

460. εἰλόμην is regarded by Goodwin *MT.* §§ 156, 533 as having 'a sense approaching that of the gnomic Aorist,' and as therefore followed by the Subj. It seems better to consider πεπεισμένος ὦ, 'I have been and am still convinced,' as one of the many examples of the retention of the *Subj.* with ἄν after a past tense (ib. § 595).

461. οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος (= ὑποκρυψάμενος Hesych.), 'unreservedly,' metaphor from 'furling sail,' 1 § 16, 19 §§ 156, 237, 338; 21 § 70, 37 § 48. *Isocr.* 8 § 41 οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος ἀλλ' ἀφειμένως.

462. πεπαρρησιάσμαι : in the present speech Demosthenes has expressed himself with singular frankness and without resorting to any phrases of apology. His increasing knowledge of human nature led him to see that in all his subsequent speeches such apologetic phrases were indispensable (Rehdantz). This is the only speech in which he applies to himself the verb παρρησιάζομαι. He uses phrases, however, such as μετὰ παρρησίας λέγειν, with an apologetic context in 23 § 204, 3 § 3, 6 § 31, and especially 9 § 3, and more unreservedly in 8 §§ 21, 24 and 19 § 237. ἐβουλόμην . . ἄν, *vellem*, 'I could have wished (though that is impossible)'; *Soph. Phil.* 1239 κλύειν ἄν οὐδ' ἅπαξ ἐβουλόμην.

463. συμφέρον—ἀκούειν : *Prooem.* 23 συμφέρει τοῦ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντος ἀκούειν.

464. συνοῖσον : sc. τὸ τὰ βέλτιστ' εἰπεῖν (or possibly ἀκούειν). Demosthenes expresses a similar apprehension on his own behalf in 1 § 16 and 3 § 32, but never afterwards.

465. πολλῶ—ἥδιον εἶχον, 'I should have been far better pleased.' *Prooem.* 23 ὁ πολλῶ γὰρ ἄν ἥδιον εἶχε (*mss.* εἶχον

Blass) νῦν δὲ φοβοῦμαι. ἐπ' ἀδήλοισ . . ὅμως, 'with an uncertainty as to the consequences to myself, yet with a conviction that,' etc. ; 21 § 30 ἐπ' ἀδήλοισ μὲν τοῖς ἀδικήσουσιν, ἀδήλοισ δὲ τοῖς ἀδικησομένοις, Thuc. i 69, 2 ἐπὶ φανεροῖς, viii 97 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡγγελμένοις . . ναῦς . . ὅμως ἐπλήρουν. Demosthenes apparently apprehends a γραφὴ παρανόμων (Hartel *Dem. Anträge* p. 528).

467. ἐπὶ τῷ . . πεπεῖσθαι : hyperbaton for ἐπὶ τῷ πεπεῖσθαι ταῦτα συνοίσειν ὑμῖν ἂν πράξητε. συνοίσειν : purposely put into an emphatic position.

468. νικῶη : 9 § 76 συνενέγκοι (Goodwin *MT.* § 722). ὅ τι (= εἴ τι) μέλλει (ib. § 525).

469. συνοίσειν : τὸ συμφέρον is the theme of the speech as a whole, and the verb has already been used five times in the concluding paragraph. In the first, as in the third, Philippic (συνενέγκοι) and the third Olynthiac (συνοίσειν . .), the last word is a word of good omen. Cp. *Or.* 1 χρηστὰ δ' εἴη παντὸς εἵνεκα, 2 βέλτιον . . ἐχόντων, 8 σῶσαι, 15 ἀρετάς, 18 σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

NOTES ON THE

FIRST OLYNTHIAC (OR. I)

§ 1 is also found (with slight variations) in *Prooemium* 3. §§ 1, 2 are parodied by Lucian *Jupiter Tragoedus* 15 ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἂν, ὃ ἄνδρες θεοί, χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἐλέσθαι νομίζω, εἰ φανερόν γένοιθ' ὑμῖν ὅ τι δῆποτ' ἀρα τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐφ' ὅτῳ νῦν ξυνελέγητε. ὅτε τοῖνυν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, προσήκει προθύμως ἀκροᾶσθαι μὲν λέγοντος. ὁ μὲν οὖν παρῶν καιρὸς, ὃ θεοί, μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφίεις, ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐρρωμένους ἀντιληπτέον ἡμῖν ἐστίν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντῃ ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν μοι δοκοῦμεν πρὸς αὐτά.

§ 1 l. 1. ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἂν—ἐλέσθαι νομίζω, 'I think you would give much to know,' lit. 'you would choose at the cost of much money.' αἰρεῖσθαι ἀντί (2 § 15, 3 § 21, 6 § 12) implies the actual possession of the thing governed by ἀντί, whereas αἰρεῖσθαι πρό implies a choice between two alternative offers. Similarly τιμᾶσθαι πρό in Thuc. i 33, 2, vi 10, 4, Isocr. 13 § 11. Cp. Andoc. 2 § 21 ἐδεξάμην δ' ἂν ἀντὶ πάντων χρημάτων, and Dem. 14 § 34 πολλῶν ἂν χρημάτων πρίασθαι. χρημάτων has probably no recondite meaning. It does not refer to sums of money either offered to Demosthenes by the Olynthians or the king of Persia, or required for sending help to Olynthus, or distributed among Athenian orators by Philip, or among the people in general by Eubulus. Nevertheless, the fact that the question of the distribution of the theoric fund was being raised (§§ 19, 20) would give additional point to the word.

2. εἰ φανερόν—σκοπεῖτε: this dependent clause is the virtual object of ἐλέσθαι. The order is: εἰ περὶ (τούτων περὶ) ὧν σκοπεῖτε, φανερόν γένοιτο τὸ μέλλον συνόψειν τῇ πόλει.

γένονται τό: this collocation (-το τό) would have been avoided by Isocrates.

3. περὶ—σκοπεῖτε: 3 § 18 περὶ πραγμάτων προτεθῆ σκοπεῖν.

4. ὅτε in causal sense (Goodwin *MT.* § 713), 'now that,' less strong than ὅτι, but stronger than εἰ. Cp. Plato *Symp.*

206 ὅτε δὴ τοῦτο ὁ ἔρως ἐστὶν αἰέ.
of transition rather than inference.

τοίνυν : here a particle

5. ἐθέλειν, 'to be willing' or 'ready.' **βουλομένων,** 'wishing' (Shilleto on *FL.* p. 348 § 26, and Donaldson's *New Cratylus* § 463). Here the ordinarily weak sense of ἐθέλειν is strengthened by position and also by the adverb προθύμως.

6. οὐ γὰρ μόνον—ἐπελθεῖν εἰπεῖν : this sentence clearly implies that there are advantages even in unpremeditated speeches, as well as in those that are carefully prepared beforehand. Demosthenes apparently intends his audience to suppose that he is himself ready to trust to that inspiration which the good fortune of Athens often supplies, rather than to any elaborate preparation. In fact, however, he was generally most unwilling to speak on the spur of the moment (*Plut. Dem.* 8, 9). He distinctly avows premeditation in 21 § 191 ἐρεῖ ὡς ἐσκεμμένα καὶ παρεσκευασμένα πάντα λέγω νῦν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐσκέφθαι μὲν . . φημι καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀρνηθεῖην, καὶ μεμελητηκέναι γ' ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστ' ἐμοί. It has been conjectured that Demosthenes may have been preceded either by some such orator as Phocion, who had possibly dwelt on the long consideration which he had bestowed on the question (so Weil), or by the witty extemporaneous speaker Demades (οὗτος Δημοσθένει λέγοντι ὑπὲρ Ὀλυνθίων ἀντέλεγεν, *Suidas*). In the latter case εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἐσκεμμένος ἦκει τις may be a modest reference to men like Demosthenes himself (so Voemel); while the sequel may be regarded as an ironical but good-humoured allusion to the ready speakers on the opposite side, who (as Demosthenes was fully conscious) were more popular with his audience (*Rehdantz*, followed by *Blass*, who, however, holds that this was the first speech in the debate). *GHSchaefer* (followed by *Heslop*) says of ἦκει τις *Dem. ut de re certa loquitur . . nam se ipsum intelligit.* ἐσκεμμένος : *Mid.* as in 15 § 25 ; *Mid. and Pass.* in 21 § 191 quoted in last note.

7. τοῦτ' ἂν . . λάβοιτε is the apodosis to εἰ ἀκούσαιτε, implied in the conditional participle ἀκούσαντες.

8. ὑμετέρας τύχης : 4 § 12, sc. εἶναι, § 10 τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἂν τις θείη, 8 § 48 δοκεῖ ταῦτα δαπάνης μεχάλης εἶναι.

9. ἐπελθεῖν ἂν : *orat. obl.* for ἂν ἐπέλθοι. ὥστ' ἐξ ἀπάντων (τῶν λεχθέντων)—αἴρεσιν γενέσθαι : *Eph.* 1 § 4 ῥαδίαν τὴν τῶν βελτίστων αἴρεσιν καταστήσαι, *Isocr.* 6 § 4 ἵν' ἐξ ἀπάντων ὑμῖν ἐξῇ τῶν ῥηθέντων ἐλέσθαι τὰ συμφορώτατα.

§ 2 l. 12. μὲν οὖν introduces the subject of the speech, as in 4 § 2, 2 § 3, 3 § 3, 18 §§ 3, 9.

13. **φωνήν ἀφίεις** : personifying ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς. For similar personifications cp. 18 § 172 ὁ καιρὸς ἐκείνος . . ἄνδρα ἐκάλει (and Soph. *El.* 75), 19 § 81 ἡ γὰρ ἀλήθεια καὶ τὰ πεπραγμέν' αὐτὰ βοᾷ, and § 119 ταῦτ' οὐχὶ βοᾷ, Plato *Protag.* 361 A δοκεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ ἄρτι ἔξοδος τῶν λόγων ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος κατηγορεῖν τε καὶ καταγελᾶν, καὶ εἰ φωνήν λάβοι, εἰπεῖν ἂν ὅτι . . , Thuc. ii 43, 2.

14. **ἐκείνων**, 'those' or 'yonder,' the affairs of *distant* Olynthus; separated from πραγμάτων to emphasise ὑμῖν and αὐτοῖς. The latter pronoun implies *personal* service, § 6 αὐτοὺς ἐξίοντας.

15. **ὑπέρ** = περί, 4 §§ 1, 4. **σωτηρίας αὐτῶν** : τῶν πραγμάτων (schol.); 3 § 21 τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων σωτηρίαν, 36 § 30 σωτηρίαν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πράγμασιν (and § 49 τὸν σώσαντα τὰ πράγματα), 5 § 7 περὶ σωτηρίας καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων, § 17 (below) βοηθητέον τοῖς πράγμασιν. **ἡμεῖς κτλ.**, 'I know not how *we* ('you and I,' less invidious than 'you') seem to me to be disposed in the matter'—a cautious way of hinting at the general reluctance to adopt a vigorous policy (K.)

Otherwise, Demosthenes might have said (with Lucian l.c.) πάνν ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν δοκοῦμεν πρὸς αὐτά, or (with the scholiast) ῥαθυμοῦμεν καὶ οὐ προσέχομεν. Hermog. iii 411 ἡμεῖς ὑπακούεται ἀμελοῦμεν ἄλλὰ τοῦτο λυπηρόν ἐστι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πῶς οὖν περιέπλεξεν; "οὐκ οἶδ'—πρὸς αὐτά."

17. **τά γ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα**, 'my *own* humble (γ') opinion.'

18. **ἤδη**, 'at once,' 'forthwith'; 4 § 8, 7 §§ 8, 15, 29 end; *Cl.* ii 609, 12 (Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica* p. 190³) ἐλέσθαι τρεῖς ἄνδρος ἤδη.

τὴν βοήθειαν : the succours in question, now being debated as the order of the day.

παρασκευάσασθαι : usually regarded as having for its object either τὴν βοήθειαν or ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, in which case ὅπως (preceded by a comma) would mean 'in order that,' or 'that so.' This makes the μέν clause inordinately long, besides giving an inadequate sense. Rapidity of preparation could not in itself lead to the succours consisting of Athenians alone. It is therefore better to take the clause beginning with ὅπως as the object of παρασκευάσασθαι. Thuc. ii 99 παρεσκευάζοντο ὅπως . . ἐσβαλοῦσιν (Weil). **τὴν ταχίστην** : cp. 4 § 23 and 3 § 2 τὴν πρώτην.

19. **ὅπως βοηθήσετε** : the usual Ind. Fut. with ὅπως after παρασκευάζεσθαι (15 § 28, 24 §§ 113, 115), κατασκευάζεσθαι (8 § 13), σκοπεῖν (2 §§ 2, 12; 3 § 1, 6 § 5, 9 §§ 29, 51, 63, 69, 75; 14 §§ 7, 14, 41; 15 § 30, 18 § 231, 19 §§ 250, 262, etc.) The Ind. Fut. is adopted by Blass in preference to the Aor. Subj. 'not merely because it is more usual, but also because it makes better sense. The text represents the succours as about to be actually sent.' The Aor. Subj. **μὴ πάθῃτε** can be combined

with the Fut. Ind., as in Aristoph. *Eccl.* 495 *μὴ καὶ τις ἡμᾶς ὀψεται χημῶν ἴσως κατέπη*, and Plato *Tim.* 18 E *μηχανᾶσθαι . . ὅπως . . ἑκάτεροι ξυλλήξονται, καὶ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐχθρα . . γίγνηται* (Weil). Cp. Aesch. *Cho.* 265 *σιγᾶθ'*, ὅπως μὴ πεύσεται τις, followed by ἀπαγγεῖλη, and [Plato] *Alc.* ii, where ὅπως μὴ λήσει is followed by τύχωσιν in 138 B and by παλινωδῇ in 148 B. Conversely in Plato *Gorg.* 481 A *παρασκευαστέον . . ὅπως μὴ ὦ δίκην μηδὲ ἔλθῃ παρὰ τὸν δικαστὴν* is followed by ὅπως μὴ ἀποθανεῖται . . ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος ἔσται, and by ὅπως βιώσεται, and in Aeschin. 3 § 64 ὅπως μὴ περιμελνῇτε ἢ ὅπως ψηφιεῖσθε and ὅπως μὴ ἔσται.

In the genuine speeches of Demosthenes ὅπως in *object clauses* is found with Fut. Ind. 73 times; with Subj. only 6 times after primary tenses (5 § 17 *λάβῃ*, 6 § 25 *εὔρητε*, 9 § 69 *ἀνατρέψῃ*, 14 § 22 *ᾧσι*, 21 § 166 *βιασθῇτε*, 24 § 107 *τύχωσι*), and only 4 times after secondary tenses (18 § 32 *ἀπίωσιν*, 19 §§ 15, 230 *γέννηται, γένωνται*, 54 § 17 *γίγνωνται*). Of these ten Subjunctives only one is that of the sigmatic Aor., *ἀνατρέψῃ*, and even this is made doubtful by the quotation in Aristides ii 625, which has *ἀνατρέψει* (accepted by Blass). In the text the mss present us with the only instance in Demosthenes of an object clause with ὅπως, in which a sigmatic is combined with a non-sigmatic form of the Subjunctive (Weber's *Absichtssätze* ii 38 f, 121). *βοηθήσετε* should therefore be preferred.

Goodwin, however, considers it very arbitrary to change *βοηθήσετε* to *βοηθήσεται*, and leave *πάθητε* (*MT.* § 364). *καὶ μὴ πάθητε—πρότερον* is considered parenthetical by Blass in his ed. of Rehdantz. Halm (*Commentationes in honorem Mommseni* p. 694) disapproves of this parenthesis, but does not make the Aor. Subj. dependent on *παρασκευάσασθαι*. He prefers suggesting *ἵνα μὴ πάθητε*.

20. *ταῦτὸν ὅπερ καί*: § 11, 3 § 12 l. 112. *πρότερον* does not refer to any belated succours recently sent to Olynthus, but to previous cases of remissness in the course of the war with Philip, § 8 l. 62. For example, in 352 B.C., when Philip was besieging *Ἡραῖον τεῖχος* near the Thracian Chersonesus, Athens did nothing effectual against him. 'The Athenians relapsed into their former languor and renounced or postponed their intended armament' (Grote c. 87 viii 59). *πρεσβείαν—ἐρεῖ*: Xen. *Hell.* ii 1, 6 *πέμπειν πρέσβεις ταῦτα τε ἐροῦντας . .*

21. *ἥτις . . ἐρεῖ*: relative with Fut. Ind., denoting purpose, 2 § 11 (Goodwin *MT.* § 565). *παρέσται τοῖς πράγμασιν*, 'watch the proceedings' or 'course of events,' especially Philip's negotiations with Olynthus implied in § 4 ll. 30, 35.

§ 3 l. 22. *δέος*: predicate. Eur. *Heracl.* 739 *τοῦτο γὰρ φόβος, Τρο.* 240 *εἰ τόδ' ἦν ὑμῖν φόβος*, Plato *Rep.* 465 B *δέος δὲ τὸ τῷ πάσχοντι τοὺς ἄλλους βοηθεῖν* (Sauppe). *πανούργος*, 'unscrupulous.'

23. *δεινός*, 'clever.'

ἄνθρωπος: 4 § 9.

πράγμασιν

χρῆσθαι, 'to turn events to account'; 2 § 3, 8 § 77, Isocr. 3 § 21.

24. εἶκων: by handing over Potidaea to the Olynthians (2 § 7). ἡνίκ' ἂν τύχῃ: sc. εἶκων, cp. 2 § 10, 4 § 46, 8 § 68, 9 § 54. Otherwise, it may be taken impersonally, as in Thuc. i 142 ὅταν τύχῃ, and Aeschin. 3 § 42 εἰ οὕτω τύχοι (so Heslop).

ἀξιόπιστος—φαίνοιτο: referring to ἀπειλῶν, 'his threats may well be believed,' judging from the experience of the past.

25. ἡμᾶς: further explained and particularised by τὴν ἀπουσίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν.

26. τρέψεται: supposed to mean 'convert to his own use,' 'turn towards himself,' or 'overturn,' but τρέπεσθαι is not found in this sense.

The rendering *ne sibi advertat* (Engelhardt) is nevertheless approved by Voemel, who quotes Herod. iii 72 ἵνα . . . ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος καὶ τι (or τις) μᾶλλον σφὶ τράπηται (where Stein reads ἐπιτράπηται with Vat.) Heslop thinks that, although Demosthenes would not have used τρέψεται alone in the above sense, he 'might venture to do so in combination with παρασπάσθαι, by which its meaning would in some measure be determined.' AGennadios, writing to me from Athens in Nov. 1894, says—ἀναγνωστέον πάντως στρέψῃ τε, κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ τῶν συγκλωμένων καὶ ἀποσπασμένων κλάδων τῶν δένδρων, ἐφ' ἧς ἐννοίας ὁ παρὰ τῷ Κωμικῷ Κλέων ἐν τοῖς Ἰππεύσει τῷ κλαστιάζειν ἐχρήσατο (Aristoph. *Eq.* 106).

27. παρασπάσθαι, 'wrest to his own use.' Xen. *Hell.* iv 8, 33 παρεσπάτό τινας τοῦ Φαρναβάζου, 'to detach from another's side to one's own' (L & S). τι τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων, 'some part of our public interests,' e.g. the relations of Olynthus to Athens, 18 § 278 τῶν ὅλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, ib. 303, 2 § 31.

§ 4 l. 27. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ(ά), 'however,' 'not but that'; 4 § 38, 2 § 22, 5 § 3, 8 §§ 8, 38, 49; an elliptical phrase, here = οὐ μὴν (ἀθυμητέον ἐστίν) ἀλλά.

28. ἐπιεικῶς, 'upon a reasonable view,' 'may fairly be said' (to be actually best for us). The adverb modifies the force of βέλτιστον in the following paradox. It is wrongly explained in the *Etym. Magn.* as meaning παραδόξως, or παρ' ἐλπίδα, a sense suggested doubtless by the context and by Hermog. iii 359 Walz, and also implied in the rendering 'strange to say' (K.), but not contained in the word itself. δ δυσμαχώτατον—

βέλτιστον ὑμῖν: a paradox like those in 4 § 2, 9 § 5. After alarming the people by showing the strength of their adversaries, the orator turns off skilfully to a topic of encouragement (K.)

30. τὸ—κύριον καὶ ῥητῶν κάπορρήτων, 'his having got it into his sole power to publish or conceal his designs' (K.) [26]

§ 18 ἐλέγχει τὰ πόρρητα τῆς πολιτείας, 18 § 235 (Philip) ἔπραττεν ἃ δόξειεν αὐτῷ οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος.

32. **δεσπότην κτλ.** : 18 § 235 ἀπλῶς αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμῶν, κύριος πάντων. Cp. ib. 246, 19 § 184, Isocr. 2 §§ 18, 24, Livy ix 18, and Napier's *Peninsular War* viii 5 (quoted by Whistou) *The first element of success in war is that everything should emanate from one head.* **ταμίαν**, 'paymaster.'

33. **αὐτόν** : *ipsum*, emphatic. **πρὸς . . τὸ . . πράττεσθαι** : Inf. with Article as Acc. after a Preposition (Goodwin *MT.* § 800). The articular Inf. is extremely common in Demosthenes, as also in Thucydides. The average number of examples per Teubner page is in Thucydides '45, in his 'speeches' nearly 1; in the 'public orations' of Demosthenes 1·25, and in the *First Olynthiac* as high as 2·75.

Gildersleeve in *Trans. of American Philol. Association* 1878, *AJP.* iii 197, 199, viii 330, 332. There are also papers by Stix (without statistics), *Zum Gebrauch des Inf. mit Artikel bei Dem.* Rottweil 1881, and by R. Wagner, *de Inf. apud oratores Atticos cum articulo coniuncto*, Schwerin 1885.

35. **καταλλαγὰς** can only refer to a compact of submission, as is proved by the subsequent context. **ὥς ἂν . . ποιήσαι(ο)**, 'which he would make,' if the Olynthians listened to his advances.

37. **ἐναντίως ἔχει** : antistrophic to **προέχει** at the end of the parallel clause in l. 35.

§ 5 l. 37. **δῆλον—ὅτι** : an iambic trimeter (noticed by 'Maximus Planudes,' v 471 Walz = Syrianus i 28 Rabe), as in 21 § 165, 35 § 22. Hexameters have been detected in 4 § 6, 18 §§ 143, 198; 19 § 75, 23 §§ 14, 50, 134, 144. Similarly **νῦν—χώρας** is a choliambus (with anapaest in second foot). But in none of these exx. does the verse really arrest attention by any exact coincidence with the limits of the clause or **κῶλον** (which here ends with **δόξης**). They are therefore hardly exceptions to the rule in Aristotle's *Rhet.* iii 8, 3 **ῥυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον δὲ μή.** Cp. Cic. *Orator* 189 *versus saepe in oratione per imprudentiam dicimus* (with notes on pp. 206-8, ed. Sandys).

38. **περί = ὑπέρ** : 4 § 1, 19 § 94, 20 § 124, 45 § 11. In all these passages we have **ὑπέρ** in the second clause corresponding to **περί** in the first. The use of **ἀλλ' ὑπέρ** or **οὐδ' ὑπέρ** prevents the collocation of more than two short syllables—**ἀλλὰ περί, οὐδὲ περί** (cp. note on *Lept.* § 124, ed. Sandys). The repetition of **ὑπέρ** before **ἀναστάσεως** is avoided for the same reason. **ὑπέρ** must be understood with **ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνδραποδισμού**

(in a different sense to ὑπέρ with μέρους χώρας) 'to save their country from destruction (devastation) and servitude.' Cp. Thuc. v 59, 1 ὑπέρ τε πατρίδος ἢ μάχῃ ἔσται καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς ἅμα καὶ δουλείας.

39. **κινδυνεύουσιν** : perhaps preferable to **πολεμοῦσιν**, because Demosthenes is here arguing on the assumption of Philip's making terms with the Olynthians, τὰς καταλλαγὰς l. 35, contrasted with τὰ τοῦ πολέμου l. 34. Though several phrases in the speech (e.g. ll. 53, 192) imply war with the Olynthians, it is clearly not yet in full force, and may still be averted by coming to terms (cp. Hartel's *Dem. Anträge* p. 532).

40. **Ἀμφιπολιτῶν κτλ.** : εἰσελθὼν γὰρ αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς ἀνοίξαντας τὰς πύλας) πρῶτους ἐφόνευσε λέγων· "εἰ τῶν ἰδίων πολιτῶν οὐκ ἐφείσασθε, πόσῳ γε πλεόν οὐ μέλλετε περὶ ἐμὲ ὕστερον τοιοῦτοι γενήσεσθαι;" (schol.) Thirlwall (v 196) suggests that this is only a conjectural explanation of the text. Diodorus (xvi 8) states that Philip, on entering Amphipolis through a breach in the walls, *criled his adversaries* and treated the rest with kindness (φιλανθρώπως προσηνέχθη). This is 'confirmed by an inscription still extant among the ruins of Amphipolis, which records a decree of perpetual banishment, and confiscation of property, against Stratocles (§ 8 l. 65) . . and Philo' (Thirlwall l.c., Leake *Northern Greece* iii 187, ASchaefer *Dem.* ii 22²).

The partitive Genitives **Ἀμφιπολιτῶν**, here and in l. 64, and **Πυδναίων**, in l. 42, are placed first for the sake of emphasis.

42. **Πυδναίων** : 20' § 63 οἱ προδόντες τὴν Πύδναν . . τῷ Φιλίππῳ . . In the case of Pydna the account given by the scholiast is more credible than that of Amphipolis—κακεῖ τινες προδεδώκασιν, εἰθ' ὕστερον γινόντες ὅτι οὐκ ἂν αὐτῶν φείσαιο, ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμόντιον ἱερὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ . . ὅμως οὐδ' ἐκεῖσε καταφυγόντων ἐφείσατο ἀλλ' ἀναστήσας αὐτοὺς ὄρκους ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν ποιῆσαι ἐξελθόντας ἀνείλεν (ASchaefer l.c. 23²).

That Philip 'exercised any unnecessary severity toward them is certainly not to be believed (says Thirlwall v 197) on the authority of a rhetorician (Aristeides i 715) who lived many centuries later; but it would not be incredible that, at the moment of occupation, some blood was shed in a military or political tumult, which may have given Demosthenes occasion for an allusion to Philip's conduct, exactly like that which he makes on the subject of Amphipolis.' Cp. Liban. iv 973.

43. **ἄπιστον**, 'an object of mistrust.' For the neut. adj. cp. Plato *Leg.* 663 E καλὸν ἢ ἀλήθεια καὶ μόνιμον. For the sense as applied to Philip, 23 § 108 μεῖζω τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πίστεως γιγνόμενον.

πολιτεῖαις, 'free states,' = δημοκρατίαις (Harpocr.) ; 3 § 26, 4 § 48, 6 § 21, 8 §§ 40, 43 ; 9 § 26, Xen. *Hell.* vi 3, 8, Aristot. *Pol.* 1307 a 15 τὰς ἀποκλίνουσας μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ πλήθος καλοῦσι πολιτείας.

44. ἄλλως τε καὶ, 'especially if.'

§ 6 l. 46. προσήκει: sc. ἐνθυμείσθαι. φημί δεῖν: 4 § 16. ἐβελῆσαι, 'resolve,' 'decide,' 2 § 13; dependent (like both the following infinitives) on φημί δεῖν. Thuc. v 9, 6 νομίσατε εἶναι τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν τὸ ἐθέλειν καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι.

47. παροξυνθῆναι, 'be roused (to indignation),' § 24; 2 § 11, 6 § 18, 14 § 6, 21 § 2.

48. εἰσφέροντας κτλ.: the participles correspond in number to the three preceding infinitives.

50. λόγος, 'motive,' 'reason,' contrasted with σκῆψις, 'pretence,' 'excuse.' Lycurg. § 33 τί γὰρ ἔδει προφάσεων ἢ λόγων ἢ σκῆψεως.

§ 7 l. 52. ἐθρύλουν, 'were always harping on,' 3 § 7 ἅπαντες ἐθρύλουν τοῦτο (ref. to the same matter), 2 § 6, 19 § 150 πολλὰ λέγοντος ἐμοῦ καὶ θρυλούντος αἰέ, ib. 273 τὴν ὑπὸ πάντων θρυλουμένην εἰρήνην, 21 § 160 ταύτην οἶδ' ὅτι θρυλήσει, [61] § 29 πολλῶν θρυλούντων ὥς. . These are all the exx. in Demosthenes.

53. ἐκπολεμῶσαι: 3 § 7, 'excite to war.' Thuc. vi 77, 2 τοὺς δὲ. . ἐκπολεμοῦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους (ib. 91, 5 τὰ ἐνθάδε. . φανερώτερον ἐκπολεμεῖν). Verbs in -όω (and most verbs in -άω) are *transitive*, verbs in -έω generally *intransitive*.

This distinction sometimes vanishes. Thus 'we find κυκλέω and κυκλώω, ῥιγέω and ῥιγώω existing side by side without essential difference of meaning' (Curtius *Gk. Verb* p. 246 Engl. ed.) The forms σκηνάω, σκηνέω and σκηνῶω are discussed in *AJP*. xiii 71 84. In the text there is a variant ἐκπολεμῆσαι (see Harpocr. in critical notes). ἐκπολεμῶσαι, however, is more in accordance with ordinary Greek usage. 'Certa analogia postulat ἐκπολεμοῦν, idque certis optimorum scriptorum testimoniis exploratam habet fidem, quae pauculis librorum mendis convelli non potest. . . Lecta Harpocratonis annotatione exhibuit alius, qui quid inter ἐκπολεμοῦν et ἐκπολεμεῖν interesset de suo (id est de nihilo) commentus est in farragine Animonii de differ. verborum: ἐκπολεμῶσαι καὶ ἐκπολεμῆσαι διαφέρει, ἐκπολεμῶσαι μὲν γὰρ ἐστι τὸ εἰς πόλεμον ἐμβαλεῖν, ἐκπολεμῆσαι δὲ τὸ πόλιν ἐξελεῖν. Equidem grammaticos facessere hinc iusserim et Demostheni bis suum ἐκπολεμῶσαι restituerim,' Cobet *Misc. Crit.* p. 450.

γέγον' αὐτόματον: 3 § 7 πέπρακται. . ὅπωςδὴποτε (of the same event). *Prooem.* 36 § 1 ἡ τύχη. . πολλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμῖν αὐτόμαθ', ὥς ἂν εὖξαισθε (cp. ὥς ἂν. . συμφέροι), παρίστησιν, inf. § 9 ll. 77, 82; 10 § 31, 18 § 205, 54 § 12, *Prooem.* 2 β, and 41, 2; ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου seven times in Demosthenes.

54. καὶ ταῦ(τα), 'and *that*,' 7 § 37, 8 § 55, 9 §§ 13, 37. ὥς, 'in such a manner as,' not combined with ἂν, which would require the Subj.

56. σφαλεροί: contrasted with βεβαίαν l. 58. μέχρι

του, 'only in part,' 'only up to a certain point'; 16 § 24 τὰ μὲν δίκαια πάντες, ἐὰν καὶ μὴ βούλωνται, μέχρι τοῦ γ' αἰσχύνονται μὴ πράττειν. It may also mean 'only for a while.' μέχρι τούτου is applied to time in 9 § 10, 19 § 150, and thrice in 18 § 48, and this is the most common meaning. Both senses occur in 15 § 10 μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας and μέχρι τοῦ δυνατοῦ. ταῦτ(α): sc. πολεμεῖν.

57. ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλημάτων, 'on account of grievances of their own,' 5 § 17 ἐγκλημα πρὸς ἅπαντας, 41 § 4 τῶν π. ἀλλήλους ἐγκλημάτων, Lys. 10 § 23 τίνος ὄντος ἐμοὶ π. ὑμᾶς ἐγκλήματος, ib. 16 § 10, 14 § 2 π. τοὺς πατέρας (τῶν πατέρων Frohberger) ἡμῖν διαφορὰς ὑπαρχούσης, Dem. 9 § 38 τὴν π. ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν, 6 § 3 (and Isocr. 8 § 38) τὴν π. ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν, 18 § 36 τὴν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν π. Θηβαίους τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, ib. 262 ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος π. τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, Thuc. vi 80 τὴν π. ἡμᾶς ἐχθραν, 'our enmity,' and v 105 τῆς π. τὸ θεῖον εὐμενείας. πρὸς with Acc. implies a double relation, and with words of accusing, hating, or the opposite, may be used either of the subject or the object. Cp. *AJP.* xii 385 f.

58. βεβαίαν: shown to be the predicate by the position of the Article before ἐχθραν.

59. ὑπὲρ ᾧν φοβοῦνται, 'on account of their fears.' The sense of the substantive is here expressed by the verb, as in 18 § 312 ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω, 21 § 189 ἐφ' οἷς ἐλητούργουν, 45 §§ 27, 68; 55 § 32. Cp. Shilleto on 19 § 238=263 ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐτιμᾶσθε.

πειθόνασιν: when Olynthus was drawing closer to Athens Philip invaded its territory (4 § 17), and thenceforward Philip and the Olynthians mistrusted one another (3 § 7).

§ 8 l. 61. παραπεπτωκότα, 'which has fallen into your hands' (unexpectedly, § 7 αὐτόματον). Thuc. iv 23, 3 σκοποῦντες καιρὸν εἴ τις παραπέσοι. The Part. alone is found elsewhere in Demosthenes, 45 § 84 (in another sense).

62. παθεῖν ταυτόν κτλ.: § 2 ll. 19 f.

63. 3θ' ἦκομεν: Impf. in Plupf. sense, 'when we had returned.'

Εὐβοεῦσιν βεβοηθηκότες: 357 B.C., in the first of the three campaigns served by the Athenians in Euboea in the time of Demosthenes, who himself volunteered as a trierarch on this occasion. Cp. 4 § 17, 8 § 74, 18 § 99; Thirlwall v 225-8, Grote c. 86 vii 649, ASchaefer ii 162².

64. παρήσαν — ἐπὶ τουτὶ τὸ βῆμα, 'had mounted this platform.' παρῆναι, *adesse*=*advenisse*, 7 § 8, 8 § 11, Thuc. ii 34 παρῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν, Plato *Theat.* 200 D; also with πρὸς, 2 § 8, Xen. *Cyrop.* ii 4, 21; and εἰς, Aeschin. 3 § 71 παρήμεν

τῇ ὕστερα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Aristoph. *Eq.* 758 χρὴ παρῆναι ἴς τὴν πύκνα. παρῆσαν (Impf. of παρίεναι) would have meant 'were mounting'; (*scd*) *manifestum est legatos conscenso suggesto, non dum conscendunt verba fecisse* Franke *Philol.* 13 (1857) 614. (On βῆμα cp. 4 § 45 l. 407.)

ἑ παρῆναι εἰς τόπον=*advenisse in locum, ubi tum sis.*

Quicumque ad suggestum contendit ut verba faciat ad eos qui ad audiendum adsunt, sive in contione sive in senatu sive in iudicio sive aliquo alio in conventu . . , sive accusat sive se aliosve defendit sive testimonium dat, sive de republica refert, is vel παρίεναι dicitur (Aeschin. 1 § 64, 3 §§ 145, 159 ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα) vel παρελθεῖν (ib. 3 §§ 95, 211 εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, 2 § 59, 3 §§ 2, 97, 151 ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα). [Cf. Isocr. 8 § 1 οἱ παριόντες ἐνθάδε, ib. 13, and 12 § 11 τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παριόντων, Dem. 18 § 170 ἥρῳτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ "τίς ἀγορεύειν βουλεται;" παρῆει δ' οὐδεὶς.]

Sed cives, cum in contionem eunt, . . συλλέγονται εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, vel συνάσιν, non παρίασιν. Verum ubi congregati sunt ad audiendas contiones, παρίεναι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν auresque praebent τοῖς παριούσιν. Quippe παρίεναι perfectum est verbi παρίεναι, ita ut a παρελθεῖν aliquantum, a παρελθῆναι nihil differat. Thuc. vi 62, 4 παρὴν εἰς τὸ στράτευμα, *venerat ad exercitum, aderat*, ii 34, 4 παρίεναι ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον, Xen. *Anab.* vii 2, 5 παρίεναι εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον and 1, 11 παρὴν εἰς τὴν ἐξέτασιν, Dem. 2 § 8 πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστιν, Plato *Apol.* 33 D παρίεναι . . ἐνταυθοῖ Franke l.c.

Ἱέραξ: Haplogr. ὅτι ὁ Ἱέραξ εἰς ἣν τῶν ὑπ' Ἀμφιπολιτῶν πεμφθέντων πρεσβέων Ἀθήναζε, βουλομένων αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίους παραδοῦναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν, εἶρηκε Θεόπομπος ἐν γ' Φιλιππικῶν.

65. Στρατοκλήης: banished from Amphipolis on Philip's capture of the town. The decree to this effect is still extant, *CIG.* no. 2008 (=Hicks *Gk. Hist. Inscr.* no. 98) ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ. Φίλωνα καὶ Στρατοκλέα φεόγειν (sic) Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀμφιπολιτέων ἀειφυγίην καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας κτλ. Cp. Thirlwall, quoted on l. 40.

66. πλεῖν=ἐκπλεῖν, as in 21 § 174 ἀξιούντων ὑμῶν πλεῖν, 24 § 92 τοὺς δὲ πλεῖν (κελεύοντας). παραλαμβάνειν, 'take possession of'; Thuc. iv 54 πόλισμα παραλαβόντες.

67. (εἰ) . . παρειχόμεθα) . . εἶχετ' ἄν . . , 'if you had continued to show the same zeal . . , you would have held possession of Amphipolis,' *habuissetis*; not ἔσχετ' ἄν, *nacti essetis*, 3 § 17, 6 § 36.

70. ἀπηλλαγμένοι πραγμάτων ('troubles'): [47] § 5 ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων.

§ 9 l. 71. Πύδνα—Παγασαί: the sieges of *Pydna* (late in 357), *Polidna* (early in 356), *Methone* (353), and *Pagasae* (352), are here (as in § 12) enumerated in chronological order.

73. τούτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ, 'any one of these in the first instance,' 'the first that came.' Isaews 8 § 33 πρὸς ἓνα δὲ τὸν πρῶτον τῶν συγγενῶν προσάξω, Lucian *Hermotim.* c. 61 οὐ

τοίνυν οὐδὲ φιλοσοφίαν ἀφ' ἐνὸς ὧν φήσῃ τις τοῦ πρώτου ('the first comēr') μάθοι ἂν ἅπασαν ὅποια ἐστίν.

75. ῥάονι : sc. καταπολεμεῖν, 'easier' to attack and conquer (Homer xviii 258 ῥηίτεροι πολεμίζειν ἦσαν Ἀχαιοί), not 'more tractable.' ταπεινότερῳ, 'weaker,' rather than 'humbler.'

76. νῦν δέ, 'whereas in fact.' τὸ . . παρόν κτλ., 'by neglecting the present in each successive instance.'

77. αἰ : 2 §§ 7, 30. προϊέμενοι, 'neglecting,' 3 § 9 εἰὰν τὰ παρόντα προώμεθα. προῖεσθαι, to give up, throw away, neglect, lose, abandon, surrender or sacrifice, is a favourite word with Demosthenes. It means neglect in 9 § 1; abandon in 1 §§ 12, 14; 2 § 2, 5 § 10, 6 §§ 29, 35; 8 § 49 (thrice) and 10 § 24; sacrifice in 5 § 1, 6 § 8, 9 §§ 4, 65, 73; throw away in 5 § 13; surrender in 9 § 64; give up in 6 § 17. For other uses see 5 §§ 3, 15; 6 § 10, 8 § 56. τὰ δὲ μέλλοντ(α)—καλῶς, 'and imagining that the future would shift for itself' (K.)

78. σχήσειν : intrans., less common than ἔξειν, but found in § 14, 18 § 272, 23 § 128 and (with Adverb) 5 § 18 ἐχθρῶς followed by ἐχθροτέρως σχήσουσιν, 18 § 45 τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν (οἰομένων). These are all the exx. in Demosthenes. σχήσω is the Fut. of the Aor. ἔσχον, ἔξω the Fut. of the Pres. The former represents the action in its inception, the latter in its duration (Kühner-Blass *Gr. Gr.* ii § 229 n. 3). Hence σχήσειν καλῶς would be 'to come right,' ἔξειν καλῶς 'to continue right.' But this distinction, though applicable to 5 § 18, does not hold good in 18 § 45, where σχήσειν ('will hold') implies duration, not inception ('will get'). The two Futures are practically synonymous.

80. οὐδεὶς πω : preferred to οὐπω τις. Similarly in l. 82 οὐδενὸς ἐλάττων is preferred to οὐκ ἐλάττων τινος.

81. δὴ emphasises νυνί, cp. Xen. *Anab.* vii 6, 31 νῦν δὲ δὴ. καιρὸς—αὐτόματος τῇ πόλει, 'there has come an opportunity, that on the part of the Olynthians, which has spontaneously presented itself to the State.' Cp. l. 53.

82. οὐδενὸς ἐλάττων : cp. l. 80, 'inferior to none'; § 27, 2 § 18, 8 § 4.

§ 10 l. 83. ἂν placed near δοκεῖ and afterwards repeated with ἔχειν. Cp. 6 § 16, 14 § 27, and Goodwin *MT.* § 223. τις . . δίκαιος λογιστῆς . . καταστάς, 'any man in the position of an honest appraiser of,' 'any one who sets himself fairly to estimate'; 18 § 229 λογισταῖς . . καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος.

85. τῶν—ὑπηργμένων, 'the benefits conferred on us by the

gods' in the first instance, as a foundation for us to build upon by our own actions. 19 § 280 διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἃς ὑπῆρξαν εἰς ὑμᾶς (with Shilleto's note on § 321), Antiphon 5 § 58 οὐδέν μοι τοιοῦτον ὑπῆρκετο εἰς αὐτόν, Lys. 21 § 25 ἀνάξια (πεπονθότες) τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὑπηρεγμένων, Aeschin. 2 § 109 τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς ὑπηρεγμένας εἰς Φίλιππον αὐτῷ, Aristoph. *Lys.* 1159 ὑπηρεγμένων γε πολλῶν κάγαθῶν. καίπερ—δεῖ: *Prooem.* 15 l. 2.

87. τὸ—ἀπολωλεκέναι and the two next infinitives are the object of the principal verb (Goodwin *MT.* § 806). The Perfect in direct discourse here (as usually) represents the act as finished (ib. § 109).

88. τὸν πόλεμον: the war relating to Amphipolis. τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας: § 1 τῆς ὑμετέρας τύχης, 18 § 254 τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι, Plato *Rep.* 376 E μουσικῆς τίθης λόγους. For the general sense cp. *Prooem.* 41 § 3 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστ' ἀπόλλυσθαι τῆς τῶν ἐπιμελουμένων κακίας σημεῖον προσήκει ποιεῖσθαι· τὸ δὲ μὴ πάλαι πάντ' ἀπολωλέναι τῆς ὑμετέρας τύχης εὐεργέτημ' ἔγωγε κρίνω.

89. ἂν τις θεῖη, 'one might reckon,' varied by θεῖην in the parallel clause, l. 93. θεῖη δικαίως keeps up the metaphor of the δίκαιος λογιστής of l. 84. μῆτε . . τέ: 4 § 51.

91. τούτων ἀντίρροπον, 'counterbalancing them,' refers back to λογιστής. The Adj. is not used elsewhere by Demosthenes.

92. τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων εὐνοίας: 2 § 1 τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν, Plato *Phaedr.* 232 A τῆς δόξης τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώπων, and similarly παρὰ τίνος after τιμωρία, ἐπικουρία, βοήθεια and φόβος (Cobet *NL.* 705). ἀπό is less usual. εὐεργέτημ(α) is inserted to prevent the parallelism with τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας—θεῖη from being too precise. Cp. *Prooem.* quoted on l. 88; also 14 § 37 ἀδίκημ' ἂν ἔθηκα.

§ 11 l. 93. παρόμοιόν ἐστιν (τούτῳ) ὅπερ καὶ . . (γίνεται): 6 § 36 ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ (τούτῳ) δι' ὃν ποτε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησεν, Xen. *Hell.* iv 2, 11 ὅμοιον εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα οἷον περ τὸ τῶν ποιητῶν. παρόμοιος is not found elsewhere in Demosthenes. ὅμοιος usually takes the Dat. (cp. 19 § 196 παραπλήσιον τούτῳ καὶ ὅμοιον), but is sometimes followed by καί (25 § 87, [34] § 19). It is followed by ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ in [35] § 28.

95. καὶ emphasises σώσῃ, which belongs to the first ἂν in the sentence.

96. τὴν χάριν: antistrophically repeated at the end of the parallel clause. ἂν δ' ἀναλώσας λάθῃ: [10] § 7; 'sin autem sensim et sine sensu disperdiderit bona, ignorans ea sibi inter manus diffluere' Reiske *Index.* ἀναλώσας and λάθῃ are

(as is usual with λανθάνω) coincident in tense. λαθεῖν is found with the Aorist participles κλέψας 45 § 80, γενομένῳ 21 § 89, and τεθέντα 24 § 16; cp. 16 § 5 λάθωσιν . . γερόμενοι, and (in another construction) 20 § 74 λαθὼν ἐποίησεν. It is found without the Aor. in [48] § 14 ἔλαθε . . ὑφαιρούμενος (Impf.) τὰργύριον. With μή we have Aor. in 37 § 54 μὴ λαθεῖν διαρρυνέν αὐτὸν τὰργύριον, and in 20 § 125, 45 § 44 ἵνα μὴ λάθῃτ' ἐξαπατηθέντες, but Pres. in *Proem.* 17 ἵνα μὴ λάθω . . ποιῶν. Cp. Goodwin *MT.* § 144. 'The famous λάθε βιώσας shows that the type of coincidence is strong in λανθάνω, and is not lightly violated' (*AJP.* xii 76). Cp. Curtius *Elucidations* § 496 p. 211 Engl. ed., and Kühner *Gr.* ii § 482, 15.

97. συνανήλωσε (τοῖς χρήμασι): gnomic Aor., 'loses at the same moment.' μεμνήσθαι, with Acc. in 6 § 30, 18 §§ 34, 283, 307; cp. *Ep.* 3 § 15 μνημονεύσει τὰς χάριτας, Thuc. i 137, 2 χάριν ἀπομνήσσεσθαι.

συνανήλωσε is the reading of S¹ O¹ and B, S and O adding α above ἦ. συνανάλωσε is found in other mss, and in *Iliet.* iii 285, viii 556, 640. But Attic inscriptions, from the fifth century B.C. onwards, are in favour of the former. Meisterhaus p. 137². Cp. Soph. *Aj.* 1049 ἀνήλωσας.

καί introduces the application of the simile, as in 4 § 41, 3 § 18.

98. πραγμάτων, 'political affairs.'

100. πρὸς—κρίνεται, 'for every prior event [or 'each of their previous advantages'] is judged commonly by the last result' (K.)

101. προὔπαρξάντων: 21 § 35 τοῖς προὔπαρχουσι νόμοις, 18 § 261 and [49] § 25 τῶν προὔπηργμένων, Aeschin. 2 § 140 ἡ (ἔχθρα) προὔπῃρχε Θετταλοῖς ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων. πρὶν ὑπαρξάντων S; but πρὶν is not found as Adv. in Demosthenes, or in Aeschines, Lysias, Isocrates, or Isaeus. This is the only adverbial use of πρὶν found at all in Greek Prose, e.g. Thuc. ii 62 ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις and iii 9 ξυμμαχίαν τὴν πρὶν, Kühner *Gr.* ii § 461, 6 b.

102. τῶν λοιπῶν and 103. ταῦτ(α): the war to be waged against Philip in conjunction with Olynthus.

105. ἀποτριψόμεθα, 'wipe off,' 'efface,' ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῆς κηλίδος, τῆς γενομένης ἀκαθαρσίας περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα (schol.) Aeschin. 1 § 179 ἀποτριψάμενος τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ ἐγκλήματα, Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* ii 3, 8 χαλεπὸν ἀποτρίψασθαι τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐγκεχωσμένον τῷ βίῳ.

§ 12 l. 105. προησόμεθ(α): note on l. 77.

106. καί: as on similar occasions.

τούτους: either the

Olynthian envoys (possibly present at the debate), or (more probably) the Olynthians themselves.

107. εἴτ(α) = καὶ εἴτα, 'and in consequence.' κατα-
στρέφεται : 3 § 8 end.

108. τὸ κωλύον, 'that is *calculated to impede*'; Xen. *Anab.* iv 5, 20 τί εἴη τὸ κωλύον; βαδίζειν κτλ., 'from marching where he pleases'—even into Attica itself (εὐφρόμως εἶπε τὰς Ἀθήνας schol.) Cp. §§ 15, 25; Goodwin *MT.* § 96.

109. λογίζεται . . καὶ θεωρεῖ : ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι is interposed *between* the synonyms, as in § 14, and in 4 § 3, 23 § 29, and 18 § 252 σκέψασθε . . καὶ θεωρήσατε. It comes *after* them in 8 § 18, 23 § 122.

110. μέγας γέγονεν κτλ. : 9 § 21 μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος ἠϋξήται.

111. τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς is found in 2 § 6, 19 § 303, *Ep.* iii 2. κατ' ἀρχὰς 9 § 21, 19 § 87, 23 § 165, [33] § 9, 34 § 12, [61] § 32. These are the only exx. in Demosthenes.

112. Ἀμφίπολιν . . (113) Πύδναν : both captured by Philip in 357 B.C. ; Ποτείδαιαν, in 356 B.C. ; Μεθώνην, in 353 B.C. ; cp. l. 71.

114. Θετταλίας ἐπέβη : 352 B.C., to aid the Aleuadae against the tyrants of Pherae, 2 § 14, 18 § 48.

§ 13 l. 114. Φεράς : taken by Philip in 352 B.C., but afterwards restored to a partial independence ; hence the general term εὐτρεπίσας, 'having ordered matters at.' Παγασάς : the harbour of Pherae (Harpocr. s.v.), retained in Philip's possession (§ 22).

115. Μαγνησίαν : the district of Magnesia (59 § 108) annexed by Philip, who intended to fortify it (ib.) ; he afterwards offered to restore it (2 § 7, 6 § 22). The schol. on § 22 implies that the district included a town of the same name :—ἡ δὲ Μ. χώρα τις ἦν πλησίον Θετταλίας, ὑπέκονσα αὐτοῖς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πόλις ὁμώνυμος αὐτῇ . . ὁ Φίλιππος . . φρούριον ὑποδόμησεν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τῶν Μαγνητῶν. Polyaeus vi 2, 1 speaks of beacons lighted by Alexander of Pherae as signals τοῖς ἐν Μ., and by the latter as signals τοῖς ἐν Παγασαῖς.

'[The district near the Hellenic site of *Argalasti*] I take to have been the district of *Magnesia* or the city of the *Magnetes*, where the coins of that people were struck ; for although this place is scarcely ever mentioned in history, its existence is proved by Demosthenes, from whom we learn that it was taken and fortified by Philip, but afterwards restored to the Thessalians. From a scholiast on Apollonius (i 583), supported by an ancient author named Cleon, it appears to have been situated in the lower part of the peninsula, near the gulf, just near the rugged exterior coast.'—

Leake *Northern Greece* iv 381. Grote c. 87 viii 56 doubts whether either the schol. or Col. Leake is borne out in supposing that there was any town called Magnesia on the shores of the Pagasaeon Gulf. 'None such is mentioned either by Strabo or by Skylax.' No such town is mentioned in Bursian's *Geogr. Gr.* ii 96 f. The ref. in Pape-Benseler (*D. Sic.* 14, 36, Plato *Leg.* 860 E) belong to another Magnesia.

πάν(τα), 'in short, everything,' 'the whole country.'

116. εἰς Θράκην: Nov. 352 B.C. (3 § 4).

117. τῶν βασιλέων: Amadocus, previously supported by Athens, became an ally of Philip (Theopompus ap. Harpocr. s.v. . . ὅς καὶ Φιλίππῳ συμμαχήσων ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν πρὸς Κερσοβλέπτην πόλεμον). Cersobleptes was conquered by Philip and confirmed in his rule over part of Thrace (schol. on Aeschin. 2 § 81). ASchaefer i 446-7².

118. ἡσθένησε: 4 § 11, 3 § 5. ῥάσας: ῥᾶον ἔχων ἐκ τῆς νόσου (Harpocr.), 'on becoming convalescent,' implying a lower degree of health than *ὕγιάνας*. For the spelling cp. ῥάδιος, and ῥαθυμῶν in the same line, the latter being possibly suggested by ῥάσας. ἐπὶ—ἀπέκλινεν, 'did not lapse into indolence'; intrans., as usual in Attic. 23 § 105 πρὸς Κερσοβλέπτην ἀποκλίνειν, 'incline towards,' 32 § 26 ἐπὶ τούτους (another sense in 55 § 24 ἀποκλιθῆναι κεράμιον), Plato *Polit.* 309 E πρὸς θηριώδη τινὰ φύσιν, Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* iv 5, 1 πρὸς τὴν ἑλλειψιν, and 7, 9 ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαττον.

119. εὐθύς: early in 351 B.C. (ASchaefer ii 56, 122²). Ὀλυνθίοις ἐπεχείρησεν, 'made an attempt on the Olynthians' (18 § 71 Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν), referring to the short expedition mentioned in 4 § 17, not followed by a direct attack until 349 B.C.

Grote c. 88 viii 71 n., following Böhnecke, understands ἐπεχείρησεν of Philip's 'serious attack' on Olynthus. Placing Philip's illness some time between Nov. 352 and Sept. 351 B.C. (p. 58), he remarks that it is hardly reasonable to assign to the interval between Philip's recovery and his attack on Olynthus, here designated by εὐθύς, a longer time than six months. He would then place the attack in the last quarter of Ol. 107, 2, or in the first half of 350 B.C. Hartel (*Studien* p. 31) puts the recovery of Philip in the middle of 351 B.C., the attack on Olynthus in 350 B.C., and the delivery of Ol. i in the latter half of that year. But the attack mentioned in the text is the same as that in 4 § 17, and is therefore earlier than the delivery of that speech (in 351 B.C.) Unger (*Zeitfolge der vier ersten Dem. Reden*), placing Ol. i in Feb. 351 B.C., implies that the attack on Olynthus was in the immediately previous winter or the previous summer, the very time when Philip was fully occupied in Thrace. These opinions are refuted by Baran *zur Chronologie der Euboeischen Krieger* pp. 207-11.

120. Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Παίονας: first defeated by Philip in 358 B.C. The Illyrian tribe of Dardani were defeated by his general, Parmenion, in 356 B.C. The alliance with Athens made

in the same year by the chiefs of the Paeonians and Illyrians, as well as of the Thracians, was broken up by Philip. In the following year there were rumours of his building forts in Illyria (4 § 48). ASchaefer ii 27². His exploits in Thessaly, and among the Magnetes, Perrhaebi, Paeonians, and Illyrians, are eulogised by Isocrates (5 §§ 20, 21) in 346 B.C. αὐτοῦ : separated (for rhythmical reasons) from στρατείας.

121. Ἀρύββαν : king of the Molossians, possibly attacked by Philip in 352-1 B.C. (ASchaefer ii 123, 424²). He was the uncle of Olympias, wife of Philip and mother of Alexander the Great (born 356 B.C.) When expelled from his dominions by Philip in 343 B.C. he was received at Athens (CIA. ii 115 = Hicks *Gk. Hist. Inscr.* no. 113).

§ 14 l. 123. ἄν τις εἴποι : omitted by Cobet here and in § 19 l. 175, on the ground that ἄν cannot begin a sentence. But in Plato *Phaedo* 87 A we have τί οὖν, ἄν φαίη ὁ λόγος, ἔτι ἀπιστεῖς ; The usual formula is εἴποι τις ἄν (3 §§ 10, 19 ; 6 § 13, 18 § 220).

124. νῦν : emphatic. γινῶτ(ε) . . καὶ αἰσθησθ(ε) : § 12 λογίζεται . . καὶ θεωρεῖ.

125. προῖεσθαι : § 9 l. 77. καθ' ἕκαστον can be regarded as the object of προῖεσθαι, in which case τι is not wanted. ἀέ τι, however, come together in l. 129 and 4 § 9, and ἀέ τι in 4 § 22.

126. ἀλυσιτελής ἐστιν (23 § 114). φιλοπραγμοσύνη, 'activity,' 'restlessness,' 4 § 42.

127. ἣ χρῆται καὶ συζῇ, 'which forms part of Philip's habit and his existence,' 'in which he lives and moves'; cp. ξυνοικεῖν κακῶ or ἀλγει (trag.), 18 § 258 τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχη and § 266.

128. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως : followed by the ordinary Fut. Ind. in [7] § 1, 15 § 19, 23 § 110, and by a more complicated construction in 33 § 28. ὅπως is here a relative adverb, the indirect form of the interrogative πῶς ; ἀγαπήσας : with Dat., 'resting content with.'

130. πράττειν, 'aim at attaining.' ἐγνωνκὼς ἔσται, 'shall have resolved'; 4 § 50, 3 § 60.

131. ἀντιληπτέον, 'must apply ourselves to,' 'seize'; ἀντιλαμβάνειν is frequent in Thucydides (e.g. ii 8, 61, 62) and in Demosthenes. Cp. 15 § 35.

132. ἐλπίς ('expectation') : sc. ἐστί. Cp. ἐλπίζειν 20 § 161.

133. τελευτῆσαι : Demosthenes prefers the Aor. Inf. after

ἐλπίς (ἐστι), and the Fut. (or its equivalent) after ἐλπίζω, e.g. 19 § 240 δεινὸν ἄν τι παθεῖν σαντὸν ἤλπιζες. Cp. 4 § 2 l. 20.

§ 15 l. 133. τίς οὕτως εὐήθης . . ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ (= ὥστε ἀγνοεῖν): 8 § 44 οὐ γὰρ οὕτω γ' εὐήθης ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς δὲ ὑπολαμβάνει. Here the relative denotes *result* (Goodwin *MT.* § 575).

134. τὸν ἐκείθεν πόλεμον κτλ. = τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον ἐκείθεν δεῦρο ἥξοντα. 9 §§ 15, 42, Isocr. 4 § 174 ὅπως ὡς τάχιστα τὸν ἐνθὲνδε πόλεμον εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον διοριοῦμεν, Aristoph. *Av.* 1168. ἥξοντ(α): Goodwin *MT.* § 904.

136. δέδοικ(α) . . μὴ . . (140) φανῶμεν κτλ.: Goodwin *MT.* § 365. After *primary* tenses of verbs of fearing, the genuine speeches of Demosthenes supply eighteen examples of Aor. and six of Pres. Subj., besides one of Aor. and Perf. Subj. combined (19 § 224), and one of Perf. Ind. (19 § 96). After *secondary* tenses, there are two examples of Aor. Subj., and three of Aor. Opt. (Weber's *Absichtssätze* ii 32). τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον (with ὥσπερ, as in 4 § 21, 9 § 30) anticipates οὕτως in l. 139.

137. ῥαδίως, 'lightly,' 'thoughtlessly,' 'recklessly,' 'unscrupulously'; 4 § 46, [17] § 16. τοῖς before μεγάλους is due to the ellipse of τόκοις: otherwise we should have expected ἐπὶ μεγάλοις (with or without τοῖς) τόκοις. Cp. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1096 ταῖσι πλατέαις for πλατέαις ταῖς χερσὶ (Krüger § 43, 3, 3). τοῖς can hardly be understood as 'the notoriously high rates of interest.' ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλους should be taken with οἱ δανειζόμενοι rather than with εὐπορήσαντες, though Blass takes it with the latter, and Heslop with both. Cp. 19 § 96 p. 372 (of a disgraceful peace) ἦν δέδοικα . . μὴ λελήθαμεν ὥσπερ οἱ δανειζόμενοι ἐπὶ πολλῷ ἄγοντες, 'enjoying this peace like men who borrow money at an enormous rate of interest' (Shilleto), 27 § 9 τάλαντον ἐπὶ δραχμῇ δεδανεισμένον, [56] § 6 ἐπὶ ταῦταις ταῖς ὁμολογίαις δανείζονται (ib. 3, 5, 42) ἐπὶ τῇ νηΐ ('on the security of,' as in [35] §§ 18, 21, 22; 37 § 50, [49] § 53, Xen. *Mem.* ii 8, 1). In the text ἐπὶ with Dat. denotes the 'terms,' or 'conditions.'

139. τῶν ἀρχαίων, 'their original property,' 'their estate,' 'the security' (ἐνέχυρον) on which their loan was raised. The same word is applied to 'capital' as contrasted with 'interest' in 36 § 41, and to 'principal' in 27 § 28, [34] § 26, and Aristoph. *Eq.* 1156. τῶν ἀρχ. ἀπέστησαν, *bonis cedunt*, 'they lose their estate,' gnomic Aor.; 36 § 50 ἐξέστησαν ἀπάντων τῶν ὀντων, 19 § 143 τῇ πόλει (γέγονεν) ἀφεστηκέναι ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν κτημάτων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. ἐπὶ πολλῷ—ἔρραθυμηκότες, 'found to have paid dear for our idleness' (K.) Cp. 19

§ 96 quoted on l. 137, and 8 § 93 ἀ δέδοιχ' ὅπως μήποθ' ἡγήσθησθ' ἐπὶ πολλῷ γεγενῆσθαι. In this comparison τῶν ἀρχαίων corresponds to Athens, or Attica itself, but it would be fanciful to regard the 'high interest paid' as corresponding to the outlying possessions lost to Philip, the arch-usurer (as suggested by Franke, Rüdiger and Westermann).

- * 141. ζητοῦντες: sc. ποιεῖν. Better taken with the subsequent ἔλθωμεν than with the previous φανῶμεν. ὧν (= τούτων ᾧ): Part. Gen. after πολλά, where we should expect ᾧ.

142. εἰς ἀνάγκην ἔλθωμεν = ἀναγκασθῶμεν, followed like the latter by the Inf. ποιεῖν (Goodwin *MT.* § 749). 19 § 341 ἤξει ποτ' εἰς ἀνάγκην τῶν δικαίων τι ποιεῖν τῇ πόλει.

§ 16 l. 144. τὸ . . ἐπιτιμᾶν, τὸ ἀποφαίνεσθαι and πράττειν are verbal nouns (Goodwin *MT.* § 90); whereas εἶναι in both clauses is the Inf. of indirect discourse (ib. 117). φῆσαι: this shorter form of the Aor. Opt. is only found here in Demosthenes, whereas in § 21, and in twenty-four other passages, the longer form φήσειε is used. The form in -αι is never used in Aristophanes (Rutherford *New Phrynichus* pp. 433-42, Kühner *Gr. Gr.* i³ 2 p. 74). In Demosthenes we have ἐγκαλέσαι, δόξαι and νεμέσσαι (20 §§ 138, 143); φῆσαι only in the spurious *Or.* [60] § 34. On the other hand, the Pres. Opt. φαίη is found six times, e.g. φαίη τις ἄν ([13] §§ 8, 11 and 21 § 89), and it is the form quoted here by Pollux 9 § 139.

145. ῥάδιον: *Prooem.* 21 ἵνα μή, τὸ ῥᾶστον ἀπάντων, ἐπιτιμήσω μόνον. παντὸς εἶναι: used as in the proverbial lines οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς, and πενίαν φέρειν οὐ παντός, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ.

146. τοῦτ(ο) sums up with emphasis the preceding phrase τὸ—ἀποφαίνεσθαι. εἶναι συμβούλου: 8 § 73 τοῦ συμβουλευόντος ἔργον εἶναι νομίζω. The true σύμβουλος is defined in 18 §§ 189, 192.

The text is paraphrased in Lucian *Jupiter Tragoedus* 23 ἔστι μὲν γάρ, ὡς ὁ θαυμαστός Δημοσθένης ἔφη, τὸ μὲν ἐγκαλέσαι καὶ μέμψασθαι καὶ ἐπιτιμῆσαι ῥάδιον καὶ τοῦ βουλομένου παντός, τὸ δ' ὅπως τὰ παρόντα βελτίω γενήσεται συμβουλευσαι, τοῦτο ἔμφρονος ὡς ἀληθῶς συμβούλου.

148. οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους κτλ.: for the sense cp. 6 § 34, 19 § 91, and Thuc. iii 43, 4.

149. τοὺς ὑστάτους . . εἰπόντας: 18 § 7 τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρου, *Prooem.* 15 § 2 and 38 §§ 2, 3.

150. ἐν ὀργῇ ποιεῖσθ(ε): Herod. ix 42 ἐν ἀδείῃ οὐ ποιουμένων (with Stein's note on i 118, 9), Thuc. iv 5 and vii 3, 2 ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐποιοῦντο.

152. σκοπῶν: *Prooem.* 23 p. 1434 οὐ μὴν οἶμαι δεῖν, ταύτην τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν διώκων, λέγειν παρ' ἃ συμφέρειν ὑμῖν ἡγοῦμαι. Cp. Kühner ii § 476, 3, Rehdantz *Index* 2 οἶσθαι. σκοποῦντα, if retained, may be regarded as stated generally, though meant to refer to the speaker, whose personality comes to the front again in ἡγοῦμαι. For ὑποστείλασθαι, and the general sense, cp. 4 § 51, also Isocr. 8 §§ 38, 39.

§ 17 l. 153. φημὶ δὴ: used (as often) to introduce the speaker's own proposals, 2 § 27. βοηθητέον: here followed by two different Datives, cp. 4 § 32; Goodwin *MT.* § 923.

154. τοῖς πράγμασιν, 'the interests at stake,' i.e. those of Olynthus and Athens combined. τὰς πόλεις: the Chalcidian towns allied with Olynthus, 9 § 26.

158. ἑτέροις: emphatic, 'a second land-force.' εἰ . . ὀλιγωρήσετε, 'if (in the future) you neglect'; § 12 εἰ προήσμεθα.

159. μάταιος: Adj. of two terminations, as in 9 § 69. ἡμῖν: *Dat. incommodi.*

§ 18 l. 159. εἴτε γάρ κτλ.: a somewhat condensed sentence, which may be expanded thus:—

'If you attack Philip's territory alone, he will disregard your attack, and, after reducing O., march easily to the defence of his own territory. If, again, you send succours to O. only, he will have no anxiety about his own territory, but will keep up a close and vigilant blockade and ultimately capture the town.'

161. παραστήσεται, 'will reduce.' Thuc. i 29 τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον πολιορκοῦντας παραστήσασθαι ὁμολογία ('compel to surrender'), ib. 98, iv 79 Ἀρριβαῖον παραστήσασθαι ('win over').

164. προσκαθεδεῖται καὶ προσεδρεύσει κτλ., 'will vigorously blockade and besiege the position.' The two synonyms denote the persistency of Philip's siege. 5 § 15 τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἐφ'εδρεύων ἕτερος καθεδεῖται, Aeschin. 3 § 206 ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες.

165. περιέσται implies continued and repeated success.

§ 19 l. 169. περὶ δέ . ., 'but as to,' § 11, [7] §§ 14, 18; 8 § 75. ἔστιν: repeated for emphasis, 2 § 10.

170. χρήμα(τα): on the revenues of Athens see Boeckh *Publ. Econ.* iii c. 19. οὐδενί: 18 § 23 πρεσβεῖα πρὸς οὐδένα (οὐδένας Cobet and Dindorf) ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, 2 § 7, 3 § 27, 4 § 29, 5 §§ 14, 17; 9 § 34, 19 § 50. In such passages οὐδεὶς may be understood as the negation of a unity consisting of many individuals, οὐδένες as the negation of a

plurality forming a single unity (Funkhänel, quoted by Westermann).

171. [στρατιωτικά], if genuine, must be regarded as purposely separated from χρήματα, and placed for additional emphasis at the end of the sentence: 'you have a larger *military* fund than any other people.' The reference is to the surplus of the public revenue, which, according to the old laws, had to be used for military purposes, at any rate in the time of war, [59] § 4 κελυόντων . . τῶν νόμων, ὅταν πόλεμος ᾖ, τὰ περιόντα χρήματα τῆς διοικήσεως στρατιωτικά εἶναι. These laws were, however, neglected while Eubulus was in power (354–338 B.C.) Even in the time of war the surpluses continued to be distributed in the form of a festival fund (θεωρικόν) to meet the cost of providing the poorer citizens with seats in the theatre at all festivals involving dramatic entertainments. Any proposal to apply the festival fund to military purposes was fraught with peril to the proposer (3 § 12). Accordingly, instead of saying bluntly, 'this fund you squander on your own amusements,' Demosthenes continues, 'this fund you receive in such a form as you please.' He then dispassionately presents them with two alternatives: 'if you pay this fund to your troops, you will require no further supply; if *not*, you *will* require a further supply; indeed, you will have no supply at all.' It will be observed that Demosthenes avoids all direct mention of the θεωρικόν. In the *Third Olynthiac*, § 11, he attacks the question with far greater boldness. On the θεωρικόν see Boeckh *Publ. Econ.* ii c. 13, Schömann *Ant. of Greece* pp. 438 f Engl. ed., Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* i 272–4² = 245 f Engl. ed., art. by Mr. F. T. Richards in Smith's *Dict. of Ant.* ed. 3, and especially Grote, latter part of c. 88 viii 98–103, and Holm iii c. 15 n. 5.

'Delendum puto στρατιωτικά, nondum enim orator στρατιωτικά hæc esse dicit, sed tantum affirmat universe pecunie copiam esse (cf. 14 § 25); ea nunc populum alio modo uti fruique' (Madvig). 'Miror unde perineptum et cum loci sententia pugnans στρατιωτικά irreperit: magis etiam miror quo pacto Editores id ferre tamdiu et concoquere potuerint. Erant enim Atheniensibus illo tempore θεωρικά, non erant στρατιωτικά. Cautissime et formidolose Demosthenes civibus auctor est ut θεωρικά quæ essent στρατιωτικά faciant: εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατενομένοις ἀποδώσετε (id est aliis verbis εἰ ταῦτα στρατιωτικά ποιήσετε), οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν προσδεῖ πόρου. Sentit autem in quanto periculo versetur et statim addit: τί οὖν; [ἀν τις εἴποι] σὺ γράφεις ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά; μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε' (COBET, followed by Weil and Rosenberg).

Mr. I. Whibley, writing to me in Nov. 1896, observes that 'it is a general assumption that under the administration of Eubulus "the surplus funds" of Athens were spent in theoric distributions; but no one explains exactly what these surplus funds were. The statements in the Orators (e.g. Dem. 3 § 33 ταῖς περιουσίαις ταῖς οἰκοῖ, [59] § 4) are generally vague; Aeschin. 3 § 251 τὰ περιόντα νειμάμενος, and Aristot. *Pol.* 1320 a 39 τὰ περιόντα νέμουσιν, do not refer to any particular date or policy; and the accounts

of the scholiasts are confused and exaggerated (e.g. § 5 of Arg. to *Ol.* 1 ἀπλῶς πάντα τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διενέμεντο). The modern idea of a surplus is the yearly balance of revenue over expenditure; but there is no trace of any yearly budget at Athens, nor evidence of any actual distribution of a surplus. At all times there were the ordinary expenses to be met, the yearly charges for the necessary outlay on the peace administration, the maintenance of the defences of Attica, and (in case of war) the expenses of war. Besides this, there was at all times a certain expenditure on public amusements. The amount so spent must have been only a question of degree. The general consensus of ancient authorities seems to justify the belief that Eubulus did increase the extent and amount of these public distributions; at the same time, there is ample evidence that he did not stint the other branches of the administration. He was opposed to an aggressive war-policy; but, during a great part of his tenure of office, Athens was at war, and expeditions were sent to Thermopylae (352 B.C.) and Euboea; the fleet was kept up, new triremes, dockyards and arsenals were built (19 § 89, Dinarch. 1 § 96, *CLA.* ii 795^{ef}, Philochorus *Frag.* 135), and, in particular, works of peace, such as the repair of roads and the supply of water, were promoted (3 § 29). It would even appear that surplus funds were allowed to accumulate (19 § 89 χρήμαθ' ὑμῖν περιέσσειν καὶ περιέσσειν διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην). So that, however considerable the theoric distributions may have been, Eubulus did not starve the needs of the state, but confessedly spent large sums on public works, whether for peace or for war. But we have no means of judging what proportion was set aside for theoric purposes. Boeckh *Publ. Econ.* bk. ii c. 13 assumes "a yearly expenditure of 25 to 30 τ, which in good times may have been two or three times as much." An expenditure of even 100 τ would not have been a very heavy charge; and the saving would not have enabled the Athenians to prosecute a very vigorous war-policy.

'Apart from the "distribution of τὰ θεωρικά," there are many passages referring to the question whether funds should be θεωρικά or στρατιωτικά:—[59] § 4, 19 § 291, 3 § 11, 19 and the text; also schol. on Aeschin. 3 § 24 τὰ δὲ χρήματα τὰ θεωρικά εἰς στρατιωτικά μεταβάλλειν ἔπεισε πρῶτος Δημοσθένης (339 B.C.) This need not mean that funds hitherto spent on theoric purposes were now applied to purposes of war. Comparing Philochorus *Frag.* 135 τὰ δὲ χρήματ' ἐψηφίσαντο πάντ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά, Δημοσθένους γράψαντος, we may conclude that both the schol. and Philochorus are referring to all the funds of the state. θεωρικόν refers sometimes to a particular distribution (3 § 31, [44] § 37), but τὸ θ. more often means "the theoric fund" (or treasury?), as in the ordinary title οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θ. (cp. 18 § 113).' Mr. Whibley suggests that θεωρικά might 'similarly mean (1) money actually spent in theoric distributions, (2) money that went into the theoric treasury. If τὸ θ. were, under Eubulus, the state-treasury for all receipts and expenses (which would be a natural interpretation of Aeschin. 3 § 25), τὰ θ. would clearly include all the expenditure of the state, for whatever purpose. From this fund special grants would be made for purposes of war (these would be τὰ στρατιωτικά χρήματα, inscr. of 347 B.C., Hicks no. 111, Dem. [49] § 12, [50] § 10). Eubulus, as the ruling spirit of οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θ., had the disposal of these funds; he used them (as we have seen) for the general purposes of the administration, as well as for theoric distributions; the proposal to make them στρατιωτικά would have involved the transfer of the state-revenues to another treasury, and would so have deprived Eubulus and his party of the control of finance. (Thus in 339–8 B.C. a τὰμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν was apparently appointed to give effect to the policy of Demosthenes.)

'On this interpretation the question involved was one of financial administration, carrying with it, however, important issues of policy and of persons.' The conclusion suggested by Mr. Whibley is that 'while the funds of the state went into a theoric treasury, they were under the control of Eubulus and his party, and used to a considerable extent for theoric

purposes; when transferred to a military treasury, they were more easily applied to purposes of war, and passed into other hands; but, in either case, the ordinary expenses of war or peace administration had to be met.

Further difficulties are raised by [59] §§ 4, 5. The speaker asserts that, at the time of the expedition to Euboea, the laws provided that, in time of war, τὰ περιόντα χρήματα . . . στρατιωτικὰ εἶναι. This is in flat contradiction to everything that is assumed about Eubulus; and the statement is supposed to refer to a time when his policy was in force. In 3 § 11 the statement is exactly the opposite. Is there anything to show at what date Eubulus first carried his policy into effect? Supposing that he had got control of the state in 354 B.C., might he not, *after* the proposal of Apollodorus and *before* the third Olynthiac, have passed a law changing the financial system, which would have involved the penalties implied in 3 § 13? (the latter passage would be consistent with a *recent* change of law.)

The expedition to Euboea is placed by ASchaefer in 350 B.C., or *before* the Olynthiacs; by Weil and Blass in 348 B.C., or *after* the Olynthiacs. It is placed by Baran in 349 B.C., after the first, but before the third Olynthiac. This last view would harmonise with Mr. Whibley's suggestion that it was before the third Olynthiac, and after the proposal of Apollodorus (and his punishment for the same), that Eubulus carried a measure which (until repealed) would prevent any one else from making any similar proposal for the future.

οὕτως ὡς βούλεσθε λαμβάνετε: a vaguer and therefore milder form of expression than that in § 20 οὕτω πως ἀνευ παραγμάτων—*eis tās ēōrtās*.

173. ἀποδώσετε implies the payment of a debt actually due, 2 § 30, 5 § 10, 6 §§ 22, 30; 8 § 65.

174. προσδεῖ—ἐνδεῖ, 'so far from its being merely a fresh source of revenue that is needed, you have no revenue at all.'

175. ἂν τις εἴποι: § 14 l. 123. γράφεις κτλ., 'Do you *propose* (or *move*) that this money should be (really) a military fund? Verily, not I. My own *opinion* indeed is that soldiers must be raised [and that this should be a military fund indeed], and that there should be one and the same rule for receiving payment and for doing one's duty (i.e. that only those should receive military money who actually perform military service); whereas *your* opinion is that you should simply without any trouble receive (this fund) for the festivals.' [καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά] is retained by CMeiser in *Neue Jahrb.* no. 109 (1874), 706.

§ 20 l. 179. μίαν σύνταξιν . . . τὴν αὐτήν: 3 § 34, 14 § 23 *μία σύνταξις*.

180. ὑμεῖς δ' (ἡγείσθε δεῖν) . . . λαμβάνειν. οὕτω πως, 'just as you do,' I won't say how; a formula for declining to go into particulars. In 8 § 74 'to the following effect'; cp. 18 § 138, 269, and 21 § 7; 16 § 27, 22 § 40, 23 § 193 ὥδι πως, 27 § 30 παραπλήσιά πως, 20 § 82 βεβαίως πως, Xen. *Anab.* vi 1, 5 τεχνικῶς πως. ἄλλως πως and εἰ πως are frequent in Demosthenes, etc.

181. ἔστι δὴ λοιπόν κτλ., 'the only course left (I presume) is for *all* of us to contribute' to a war-tax. From the war-tax no citizen was exempt (20 § 18). Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* i 407² = 364 Engl. ed. The orator's purpose, in threatening the citizens with this unpopular tax, is to make them more disposed to utilise the theoric fund.

182. ἂν πολλῶν δέη, πολλά: the amount of the war-tax varied according to circumstances; cp. Gilbert pp. 367, 369 Engl. ed.

183. δεῖ and (185) δεόντων, 'money *must* be had: without money we can do nothing that *must* be done.'

186. ὧν depends on ὅστις (πόρος).

187. ἕως ἐστὶ καιρός, *nou*, *while there is opportunity*; the relative with a *definite* antecedent has no effect on the mood of the verb. Had the exhortation been referred to the future, we should have had ἕως ἂν ᾗ καιρός, *so long as there shall be an opportunity* (Goodwin *MT.* § 520). ἀντιλάβεσθε τῶν πραγμάτων, 'take our public policy in hand,' *capessite rempublicam*, Sallust *Cat.* 52, 3.

§ 21 l. 188. τὰ πράγματ(α): placed in the principal instead of the subordinate clause, further defined by τὰ Φιλίππου, which is put in an emphatic position at the end of the sentence, to introduce a new topic.

191. εὐτρεπῶς, 'in very good trim' (K.), 4 § 18; 3 § 13 εὐτρεπίσαι. ὥς ἂν κάλλιστ' ἔχοι: 18 § 291 οὐχ ὥς ἂν εὖνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην. The ellipse is supplied in 4 § 6 ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὥς ἂν ἐλών τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ.

192. οὐτ' ἂν ἐξήνεγκε κτλ., 'nor would he have begun the war'; 14 § 35 ἐκφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον.

193. πολεμεῖν: emphatic, 'really to fight.' αὐτόν: not πόλεμον, but Φίλιππον.

194. ὥς ἐπιών: οὕτως ὥς ἐπιών τις ἀναιρεῖται, *primo statim impetu et aggressu*, ὥς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς (Reiske), 'on the first advance.' 9 § 22 (of Philip) ἐπιόντα. ὥς often coalesces with adverbial phrases such as ἀληθῶς, ἐτέρως, ἄλλως, τάχος, ἐτητύμως, ἡπίως, and it is here similarly used, but in an exceptional manner, with a *participle*. Julian p. 27^a ὥς ἐξ ἐφόδου ληψόμενον (quoted by Blass).

ὥς is, however, hard to explain. Weil asks whether it means *en quelque sort*. Halm regards ἐπιών as Fut., 'as one who was on the point of attacking,' 'even if he merely threatened an attack' (*Commentationes in honorem Mommseni* p. 695).

τότ(ε): i.e. when he began the war. This implies that the speech was not delivered at the very beginning of Philip's war with Olynthus (Weil).

195. **ἀναιρήσεσθαι**, 'to carry' or 'carry off' (everything). For another sense see l. 55.

197. **τὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν**, 'the attitude of the Thessalians,' 'the state of Thessaly.' In 353 B.C. Philip had been invited to aid the Aleuadae against the tyrants of Pherae (§§ 9, 12; 4 § 35). The latter, though aided by the Phocians, were finally defeated by the Macedonian forces and the Thessalian cavalry in 352 B.C. Magnesia was occupied by Philip, to enable him to keep the Thessalian confederation under his control (§ 13, 2 § 7).

§ 22 l. 198. **ταῦτα**: the Thessalians, implied in **τὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν**. On the neuter cp. 4 § 8. **ἄπιστα**: the treachery of the Thessalians was proverbial, **ἀεὶ γὰρ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἄπιστα** (schol. on Aristoph. *Plut.* 521, and Zenobius iv 29 Θετταλῶν σόφισμα, cp. Voemel's *Proleg. in Phil.* p. 89). 23 § 112 **ὕμεις μὲν . . οὐδένα προὔδωκατε πώποτε τῶν φίλων, Θετταλοὶ δ' οὐδένα πώποθ' ὄντιν' οὐ**. Eur. *Frag.* 422 πολλοὶ παρήσαν, ἀλλ' ἄπιστα Θεσσαλῶν. **δήπου**, 'as you know.'

199. **φύσει καὶ ἀεὶ**, 'by nature and by constant habit'; Diphilus ap. Athen. 225 A **τῇ φύσει καὶ πανταχοῦ**. **κομιδῇ**, 'exactly,' 'just,' 'quite,' 'perfectly,' 5 § 25. **κομιδῇ δ(έ)** instead of **ἄπιστα δέ**, as though the former clause had begun with **φύσει μὲν καὶ ἀεὶ ἄπιστα ᾗν**.

200. **Παγασὰς ἀπαιτεῖν**: 2 § 11. Pagasae, the port of Pherae, had been captured by Philip, and was held by a Macedonian garrison after he had given up Pherae itself. Cp. § 13.

201. **ἐψηφισμένοι**: Middle, as in Aristoph. *Vesp.* 591 **ἐψηφισται**. **Μαγνησίαν κεκωλύκασι τευχίζειν**, 'prevented' by diplomatic protests. 2 § 11 **περὶ Μαγνησίας λόγους ποιέσθαι**.

'I take the latter expression to state the fact with more precision: the Thessalians passed a vote to remonstrate with Philip; it is not probable that they actually hindered him. And if he afterwards gave to them Magnesia, as we are told in a later oration, delivered 344 B.C. (*Phil.* ii § 22), he probably gave it with reserve of the fortified ports to himself; since we know that his ascendancy over Thessaly was not only not relaxed, but became more violent and oppressive,' Grote c. 87 viii 56. Cp. Thirlwall v 306. If the *Second Olynthiac* is really the first in order of delivery, **κεκωλύκασι** would imply that the remonstrances previously expressed by **λόγους ποιέσθαι** were successful (Heslop). It was not until the close of the Sacred War (346 B.C.) that Philip surrendered Magnesia, if as much as

this is implied in the Impf. ἐδίδον (*Phil.* ii § 22). Philip III afterwards placed a permanent garrison there, regarding it as one of the 'keys of Greece' (*Paus.* vii 7, 6).

202. ἤκουον : 2 § 17.

203. λιμένας : 2 § 9. δώσοιεν : the Opt. Fut. is oftener found in Xenophon than in the Attic orators. Cp. however 23 § 10, 24 §§ 155, 158 ; 31 § 2, 36 § 6, 50 §§ 44, 50, 56 ; 52 §§ 8, 22 ; 53 § 8, 57 § 16, 59 § 38 (*Rehdantz Index*). Goodwin *MT.* § 128.

204. καρποῦσθαι, 'enjoy the revenue of.' The Thessalians had granted Philip their harbour and market dues in gratitude for his services, and in compensation for the cost of his aid against the tyrants of Pherae. Grote c. 87 viii 55.

205. δέοι : independent Opt. continuing the quotation introduced by ὥς. Cp. *Thuc.* ii 72, 3, *Xen. Anab.* vii 3, 13, Goodwin *MT.* § 675.

206. ἀποστερήσεται : this Fut. is also found in 24 § 10, 39 § 11, 40 § 10. στερήσεται occurs in 20 § 40. ἀποστερηθήσεται has little support in Attic prose, *Lys.* 12 § 70 ; in *Isocr.* 7 § 34 it is the reading of one ms (Γ) only. It is sometimes supposed that Futures in -ηθήσομαι or -ωθήσομαι are not Attic. In the present instance that Fut. is unnecessary, as ἀποστερήσομαι, like ἀποστεροῦμαι, has a Perfect sense. Kühner *Gr. Gr.* i³ 2, 112.

207. εἰς στενὸν . . καταστήσεται, 'will be straitened.' τὰ τῆς τροφῆς, 'the means of support.'

208. ξένοις : Dat. after τροφῆς. [53] § 29 τροφὰς μητρὶ, 3 § 20 ἐφοδίῳ τοῖς στρατευομένοις, 4 § 28 σιτηρέσιον τῇ δυνάμει.

§ 23 l. 208. γε : often combined with transitional particles, such as ἀλλὰ μὲν, to emphasise a new point ; καὶ . . γε (2 § 10), οὐδέ γε (5 §§ 16, 24 ; [7] § 28). τὸν . . Παίονα . . τὸν Ἰλλυριόν : the chiefs of Paeonia and Illyria (cp. τὸν Κᾶρα 5 § 25, τὸν Θράκα 23 § 133, ὁ Κόλχος *Herod.* i 2, ὁ Λυδός *ib.* 80), and not the tribes themselves (as in *Thuc.* vi 79 τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, τοῦ Συρακοσίου, and 81 ὁ Χαλκιδεύς). The tribes were doubtless eager to be αὐτόνομοι, but could hardly be described (like their chiefs) as ἀήθεις τοῦ κατακούειν τινος.

209. ἀπλῶς, 'in general.' τούτους : chiefs in Thrace, Epirus, etc. (*Sauppe*).

Diodor. xvi 2 (359 B.C.) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ (Μακεδόνες) καταπεπληγμένοι τὰς τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν δυνάμεις περίφοβοι καθειστήκεισαν καὶ πρὸς τὸ διαπολεμεῖν ἀθίμως εἶχον, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Παῖονες μὲν, πλησίον τῆς Μακεδονίας οἰκούντες, ἐπύρρουν τὴν χώραν, καταφρονούντες τῶν Μακεδόνων.

211. ἀήθεις τοῦ κατακούειν : 21 § 134, 29 § 17 (Goodwin *MT.* § 798).

212. ὑβριστής, ὡς φασιν : 4 § 9.

213. τὸ γὰρ εὖ πράττειν—γίγνεται : 23 § 113, Thuc. iii 39, 4 εἰώθε δὲ τῶν πόλεων αἷς ἂν μάλιστα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου ἀπροσδόκητος εὐπραξία ἔλθῃ, ἐς ὕβριν τρέπειν.

214. παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν : 2 § 8. ἀφορμὴ κτλ., 'a source of infatuation'; κακῶς φρονεῖν, 'folly'; a frequent phrase in Greek Tragedy. διόπερ : 3 § 19.

ἀφορμὴ means (1) a starting-place, a commencement, a base of operations, Thuc. i 90 ἀναχώρησιν τε καὶ ἀφορμὴν: hence the cause, occasion, pretext of a thing, Isocr. 4 § 61, Eur. *Hec.* 1239 λόγων ἀφορμαί, Dem. 18 § 156 ὁ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις παρασχών: (2) the means with which one begins a thing, 3 § 33 ἀφορμαῖς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τῶν ἀγαθῶν, [13] § 19 τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν ἀφορμὴν ἔχων: means of any kind, 21 § 137 τὴν ἀφορμὴν ('wealth'), ἥπερ ἰσχυρὸν ποιεῖ. . . τουτονί, ib. 98 τὴν ἀφ. δι' ἣν ὑβρίζει, ib. ἀφορμὴν ('resources') ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς δεδωκέναι: resources in general, 19 § 343 χρήματα δόξαν ἀφορμὴν, 24 § 52 τὸ δεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ συμφορᾶς ἰκετεύειν ἔχοντας ἀφορμὴν ('advantage'): means of support, [61] § 6 τῆς κοινῆς φιλίας ἀφορμὴν, ib. 22 πλείους ἀφορμὰς ('materials for') λόγων, 2 § 22 πλείους ἀφορμὰς ('claims') εἰς τὸ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν ἔχειν, and [11] § 16, *Epr.* i 4 ἀφθόρους ἀφορμὰς ('means of discussing') ὧν ὑπολαμβάνω συμφέρειν ὑμῖν: means of war, such as money, men and ships, 4 § 29, 9 § 70, 14 §§ 29, 30; 18 § 233, 20 § 68, 23 § 71; also capital 36 § 11 εἰ ἦν ἰδία τις ἀφορμὴ τούτῳ πρὸς τῇ τραπεζῇ, 'had he had any capital of his own invested in the bank,' ib. 44 πίστις ἀφορμὴ πᾶσῶν ἐστὶ μεγίστη πρὸς χρηματισμόν, 'for money-making the best capital of all is good credit'; ib. §§ 12, 13, 14; 45 §§ 5, 47.

216. πολλάκις—εἶναι : 20 § 50 τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων οἱ πλείστοι κτῶνται μὲν τάγαθὰ τῷ καλῶς βουλευέσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς καταφρονεῖν, φυλάττειν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς τρόποις. Xen. *Cyr.* vii 5, 76. The converse of this γνώμη is cited in 2 § 26. τὸ φυλάξαι : Art. with Inf., used as subject, especially with ἐστίν. See also 2 § 20 τὸ κατορθοῦν (Goodwin *MT.* §§ 790, 745).

§ 24 l. 218. τὴν ἀκαιρίαν—καιρὸν—νομίσαντας, 'regarding his difficulty as your opportunity'; 45 § 70, Lys. 31 § 17 οἷς τὰ ὑμέτερα δυστυχήματα εὐτυχήματα ἐγγόνει, Livy iv 58 *tantum abfuit ut ex incommodo alieno sua occasio peleretur*, Plancus in Cic. *ad Fam.* x 4, 4 ne . . nostra mala suam putent occasionem. Whiston quotes O'Connell's saying *England's need is Ireland's opportunity*.

219. ἐτοίμως συνάρασθαι κτλ., 'readily help in bearing the burden of war'; Thuc. iv 10 ἄνδρες οἱ ξυναράμενοι τοῦδε τοῦ κινδύνου, Eur. *Or.* 757 συνηράμην φόβου σοι μητρός. σὺν τῇ τύχῃ is supplied by the schol.

220. πρεσβευομένους, 'sending envoys'; Thuc. i 92, iv 45, vi 104, viii 5. ἐφ' ᾧ δεῖ (*ad negotia curanda quae curari*

oportet GHSchaefer): sc. *πρεσβεύεσθαι* § 2, 2 § 11: ‘where required’ (K.) seems less correct.

222. *λογιζομένους, εἰ κτλ.*: 21 § 209.

224. *πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ*: sc. *τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ*, ‘on our frontier,’ 4 § 32.

πῶς ἂν—ἐλθεῖν: a direct question vividly used instead of *ὥς ἂν—ἐλθοι* (as in 20 § 87), cp. 21 § 209 *ἐνθυμείσθε . . τίνος συγγνώμης . . τυχεῖν ἂν οἴεσθε*. *πῶς . . οἴεσθε*(ε): 6 § 20.

225. *εἰτ(α)*, ‘and then,’ 2 § 26, 4 § 43, 6 § 35, 8 § 20, 9 §§ 13, 18, etc. *μηδ(έ)* must be taken with the Inf. *ποιῆσαι*.

226. *εἰ δύναιτ’ ἐκεῖνος*, ‘if he had the power’ to make you suffer (implied in *πάθοιτ’ ἂν*). *ταῦτα* resumes the preceding *ἄ*.

227. *οὐ τολμήσετε*; the construction has here changed from *μηδ(έ)* into *οὐ*. After *ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καιρὸν ἔχοντες* we may imagine that the orator pauses, and, abandoning the previous construction, breaks off with the energetic question *οὐ τολμήσετε*; But for this change of construction, *οὐ* would not have been used. The transition to the interrogative is less violent in Lys. 12 § 36 *οὐκ οὖν δεινόν, εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς θανάτῳ ἐζημιώσατε, τούτους δὲ δὴ . . οὐκ ἄρα χρὴ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας κολάζεσθαι*;

§ 25 l. 231. *ἀντέχη*, ‘hold out’; 2 § 10.

223. *τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ταύτην*, ‘this land which is already ours and is our very own.’ Thuc. vi 69, 3 *Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν περὶ τε τῆς ἀλλοτρίας οἰκείαν σχεῖν . . Ἀργεῖοι δὲ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφίσι πατρίδα . . πάλιν ἐπιδεῖν*. The text refers to Attica (not to Macedonia, as held by Voemel). The Art. is repeated for additional emphasis; 19 § 311 *τὴν ὁσίαν καὶ τὴν δικαίαν ψῆφον*.

224. *ἀδεῶς καρπούμενοι*: § 28 l. 258.

225. *δεῦρο βαδίζοντα*, ‘on his march hither.’

§ 26 l. 235. *Θηβαῖοι*; the Sacred War against the Phocians (355–346 B.C.) was going on at this time, and the Thebans were active in supporting Philip.

226. *μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ἦ*, ‘I wish it were not (I fear it may be) too harsh to say’ (what is only too true). The construction has probably arisen out of that usual in ‘dependent clauses of fear,’ 6 § 33 *φοβοῦμαι μὴ λίαν ἐγγὺς ᾗ*, 9 § 1 *δέδοικα μὴ βλάβημι μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δέ*. The Subj. with *μὴ* in cautious assertions is common in Plato, e.g. *Gorg.* 462 E *μὴ ἀγροικότερον ᾗ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν*, *Parm.* 130 D *μὴ λίαν ᾗ ἀποπον*, *Apol.* 39 A *μὴ τοῦτ’ ᾗ χαλεπὸν*, *Crat.* 425 B *μὴ φαῦλον ᾗ καὶ οὐ*

καθ' ὁδόν (more exx. in Goodwin *MT.* § 265, and in Weber's *Absichtssätze* ii 51). Cp. Aristotle *Pol.* iv 4, 11 μή γὰρ ἐν τῶν ἀδυνάτων ᾗ. The text used to be sometimes printed as a question, μή being regarded as *num*? In Plato there are only 4 examples of the interrogative use of this construction (*Parm.* 163 D, *Phaedo* 64 C, *Rep.* 603 C, *Sisyphus* 387 D), as against 31 non-interrogative (Weber p. 52).

Halm objects to 'understanding' φοβοῦμαι or translating (with EMüller) 'I fear it is only too bitter a thing to say.' The sense required (he holds) is the very opposite: 'I have no fear of its being too bitter a thing to say.' He considers the construction to be a colloquialism, like those in Plato. He demurs to the translation of *Gorg.* l.e. given by Curtius *Gram.* § 512, *wenn es nur nicht unfein ist die Wahrheit zu sagen*, and prefers that of Krüger (§ 54, 8, 13), *dass es denn nicht zu grob (derb) ist die W. zu sagen*. His own rendering is, *kaum wird es als zu bitter klingen, wenn man sagt: sie werden mit einfallen* (*Comm. in honorem Mommseni* pp. 695 f).

237. Φωκεῖς; κτλ.: the Phocians, on the death of their commander Onomarchus (352 B.C.), were unable to defend their land from invasion without the aid of others. Athens averted that invasion for a while by keeping Philip north of Thermopylae, 4 § 17.

The relations of Athens to the Phocians and Thebans on the outbreak of the 'Phocian war' are described in 18 § 18 οὕτω διέκεισθε, ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὀρῶντες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὅτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι.

239. ἢ ἄλλος τις: e.g. the Spartan Archidamus who *at a later date* (346) undertook to aid the Phocians, but retired on Philip's withdrawal. The sentence has generally been treated as a fresh question, to which no answer is returned because none is needed; but this would have required ἄλλ' ἄλλος τις; The latter, however, is supposed by some to have been avoided on grounds of euphony. ὦταν, 'good sir'; 3 § 19, 18 § 312, [25] § 78. οὐχὶ βουλήσεται δεῦρο βαδίζειν.

240. τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων: partitive Gen.; neuter as in 2 § 2 ἔστι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν αἰσχίστων, 5 § 4, etc.

ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνων: 4 § 42.

241. ἐκλαλεῖ: *effudit, deblaterat* (GHSchaefer), 'prates,' 'divulges,' 'blurts out'; 19 § 43 τίς ὁ ἐκλαλήσας; Cic. *pro Milone* 44 *cum ille non dubitarit aperire quid cogitaret, vos potestis dubitare quid fecerit?* (Sauppe).

242. (εἰ μή) πράξει: future protasis to the future apodosis expressed by ἂν εἴη (Goodwin *MT.* §§ 178, 505).

§ 27 l. 242. τὰ διάφορα) . . ἤ: 22 § 55 τί δοῦλον ἢ ελεύθερον εἶναι διαφέρει.

244. αὐτοῖς, 'by yourselves,' in the absence of any enemy

(l. 247). **τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας** : 'libentius Attici dicebant quam μῆνα, ut Galli non dicunt *une semaine, deux semaines*, sed malunt *huit jours, quinze jours*' (Elmsley on Aristoph. *Ach.* 858).

245. **ἔξω τῆς πόλεως** (added by Minucianus ix 611 Walz). **ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ λαμβάνειν**.

246. **τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας** = τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ § 15 ; part. Gen. after **λαμβάνειν** (present of continuous action) ; Xen. *Anab.* iv 5, 22 **πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης**.

247. **λέγω**, 'I mean' (= καὶ ταῦτα), 8 § 24, 9 § 70, 19 § 152, 21 § 83.

249. **ἅπαντα—χρόνον** : 20 § 130 πᾶς ὁ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνος, Thuc. ii 58, 2 ; 73, 3. The reading **πόλεμον** would refer to the war concerning Amphipolis which had cost more than 1500 talents (3 § 28). **δεδαπάνησθε** : in Middle sense, as in Isocr. 18 § 63 πολλὰ . . **δεδαπανημένος**. **εἰ—ἥξει**, 'but if war *should* (δῆ) reach us,' opp. to ἐκεῖ **πολεμήσετε**, l. 232. Thuc. iii 54 ἥξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος.

250. **πόσα . . ζημιώσεσθαι** : cp. **πλείονα ζημιωθῆναι** (248). The Middle Fut. of this verb is always Passive in sense, though **ζημιωθήσομαι** is also found. Cp. note on l. 206.

251. **ὕβρις**, 'insolence,' *protervitas et petulantia militaris* (HWolf) ; 18 § 205 quoted below, Dinarchus 1 § 19. **τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνῃ** : objective Gen. (as in [60] § 26 τῇ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' ὀνειδῶν αἰσχύνῃ), 'shame' either (1) 'for the deeds done to us,' or (2) 'for the state of affairs,' as in 4 § 10 τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνῃν and 8 § 51 ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν γιγνομένων αἰσχύνῃ.

252. **οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάττων** : § 9. **τοῖς γε σώφροσιν** = Plato *Laus* 926 D τῷ ἡττηθέντι παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου ψόγος καὶ ὄνειδος κείσθω, πολλῶν χρημάτων νοῦν κεκτημένῳ ζημία βαριτέρα. Dem. 18 § 205 (the true patriot) **φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας**, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

§ 28 l. 256. **καλῶς ποιοῦντες**, 'happily,' or rather 'to which they are very welcome,' 'and I do not grudge them their wealth.' Cp. 21 § 212 **εἰσὶ . . πλούσιοι καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦσι**, where the speaker expresses an ungrudging recognition of the fact ([42] § 22 **καὶ οὐ φθονῶ**).

When a speaker in mentioning a fact desires to denote his own opinion of it, the most emphatic form of approval is that expressed by a *principal verb*, as in Xen. *Cyr.* vii 5, 48 **ἡ καλῶς ἐποίησας . . ἄρξας τοῦ λόγου**, Plato *Phaedo* 60 c **εὖ γ' ἐποίησας ἀναμνήσας με**, Lys. 28 § 8 **καλῶς ἐποίησεν οὕτως τελευτήσας τὸν βίον**.

When the fact and the opinion have a similar stress laid on both, we have two principal verbs, as in 20 § 149 Γελάρχω πέντε τάλαντ' ἀποδοῦναι γέγραφεν οὗτος . . καὶ καλῶς ἐποίει (21 § 212 quoted above, 25 § 97, Lys. 32 § 17, Aristoph. *Ran.* 584, *Eccl.* 804).

Most commonly the opinion is expressed by a participle. This may be placed (a) after the principal verb, as in Plato *Rep.* 351 c (A) σοὶ γὰρ χαρίζομαι, (B) εὖ γε σὺ ποίων, cp. *Symp.* 174 E καλῶς γε ποίων σὺ, *Lach.* 192, 13 ὁρθῶς γε σὺ λέγων, *Gorg.* 451 D, 511 c, *Euthyd.* 273 A, *Crat.* 399 A, Xen. *de re equestri* 1, 3, *Oec.* 16, 2, Antiphon 1 § 29, Dem. 8 § 42 οὐ κακῶς λογιζόμενος, 29 § 13 ψευδόμενος (cp. 37 § 23, 58 § 31, Lys. 13 § 70), Isocr. 5 § 7 σωφρονοῦντες, Plato *Phil.* 19 D ὁρθῶς δρῶντες (Xen. *Cyr.* iv 4, 6, Isocr. 9 § 54), Aeschin. 3 § 232 φατέ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι ὥς καὶ ἐστὲ καλῶς ποιοῦντες, Lys. 24 § 14 οὔτε ὑμεῖς τούτῳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχετε γνώμην οὔθ' οὗτος ὑμῖν εὖ ποίων.

The participle may also be placed (b) before the principal verb. This is apparently the last stage in the development of this construction. 21 § 2 καλῶς καὶ τὰ δίκαια ποίων ὁ δῆμος ὠργίσθη, 57 § 6 καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς ἡδικημένους ἅπαντας σεσώκατε, *Er.* 1 § 8 οἱ θεοὶ σώσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἀποδεδώκασιν ὑμῖν βουλευσασθαι, 18 § 231 τῆς δὲ φιланθρωπίας (of Philip) ὑμεῖς κ. π. ('happily') τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε, cp. 20 § 110, 23 § 143, *Er.* 2 § 19 and 3 § 26, *Proem.* 36 § 1 (Rehdantz *Index* s.v. *Participium*).

The Participle and the Principal Verb are both found in [10] § 38 ἡ τύχη, καλῶς ποιούσα πολλὰ πεποίηκε τὰ κοινά . . οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ζημιουμένου τῶν τὰς οὐσίας ἐχόντων . . οἱ γὰρ εὐποροὶ πάντες ἔρχονται μεθέξοντες τούτου, καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦσι.

258. τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, 'those of military age,' serviceable and able-bodied men between 18 and 60. Cp. 3 §§ 4, 34; 4 § 7, Thuc. vi 24, 2, Xen. *Hell.* vi 5, 12 and *Cyr.* vi 2, 37 (οἱ ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμῳ or στρατιωτικῇ ἡλικίᾳ), 21 § 95 ἐστρατευμένους πάσας τὰς ἐφ' ἡλικίας στρατείας.

260. φοβεροὶ φύλακες κτλ., 'redoubtable defenders of the security (or 'integrity') of their country,' champions to keep their country unviolated by foreign invasion. The oath of the *Ephebi* contained a clause—τὴν πατρίδα δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσω παραδῶσω, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀρείω, ὅσῃν ἂν παραδέξωμαι (Stobaeus 43, 48). In Plato's *Laws* 760 B f the duty of χώραν φυλάττειν is assigned to citizens between 25 and 30 years of age. ἀκεραίου: proleptic, 4 § 8. [44] § 23 (τὴν πατρίδα οὐσίαν) ἀκέραιον φυλάττοντες. ἀκέραιος, *purus*, *sincerus*, *integer*, a prose word used by Eur. (1)=ἀκήρατος, 'unmixed,' 'uncorrupt,' 'guileless,' 'pure'; (2) 'entire,' 'unharmed,' 'unravaged,' Herod. iii 146, Thuc. ii 18, 5 τῆς γῆς ἐτι ἀκεραίου οὐσης (opp. to *τμηθεῖσαν*). Synonymous with ἀπόρρητος (oracle in Herod. vii 141; applied to Attica in Eur. *Med.* 826). The phrase φοβεροὶ φύλακες | τῆς οἰκείας ἀκεραίου rises above the ordinary level of prose, and happens to be metrically equivalent to the end of an anapaestic system.

261. τοὺς λέγοντας, τοὺς ῥήτορας, τοὺς πολιτευομένους, 3 §§ 21, 24; 6 § 44, 9 § 38. ἔν' αἰ—εὐθυναὶ ῥάδια γένωνται, 'that they may pass a good account of their statesmanship' (K.) εὐθυναὶ is here metaphorical; the reference is to a moral and not a pecuniary responsibility like that attaching to public officials.

261 f. τῶν πεπολιτευμένων and (264) τῶν πεπραγμένων : both followed by αὐτοῖς. With the Perf. (or Pluperf.) Passive the place of ὑπό with Gen. is often taken by the simple Dat. of the Agent.

In Demosthenes this construction is limited to comparatively few verbs, especially πράττω (found 80 times). It occurs 60 times with the Perf. Participle of that verb, and always in the neuter Plural (similarly in Aeschines, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus). The Dat. usually follows the Participle, unless special emphasis is intended (as in 5 § 18, 18 § 79, 19 § 291, 20 § 80, 21 §§ 175, 181; [13] § 26); the emphasis is sometimes slight, as with τούτῳ in 29 § 1, [58] § 19, 21 §§ 19, 127, 129, and with other Datives in [58] § 30, [60] § 12. τούτῳ follows the Participle in 54 § 37, 19 § 24, 37 § 19, 21 §§ 217, 227; 35 § 55, [58] § 3. Sometimes the Dat. is emphatic, although placed after the Participle for special reasons, as in 18 § 17, 51 § 9, 19 §§ 32, 67.

With the Perf. Ind. or Inf. the Subject is either a neuter Pronoun in Plural, as ταῦτα, ἃ, ταῦτά, or in Singular, as τί, ὅ, τοῦτο : or a Pronoun like οὐδέν, πάντα, πολλά : or an Adjective in neuter Plural as τάναντία, δεινότερα. The Verb stands without a Subject in 5 § 21.

Among the 15 examples of Perf. Ind. with Dat. there are three in which ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖσι stands in an emphatic position before πέπρακται, one in which τοῖς ἄλλοις is placed for emphasis at the end of the clause and after πέπρακται. In passages where the Dat. is unemphatic, it stands either before or after the Verb.

ὑπό is found before πεπραγμένα only in 19 § 117 τὰ ὑπὸ Φιλοκράτους πεπρ., and before πεπραγμένοις (to avoid the collocation of two Datives) in 19 § 9 τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ πεπραγμένοις (ib. 95, 36 § 34; cp. Lys. 14 § 19, Isocr. 5 § 79, 12 § 184). The Dat. of Agent follows the Dat. Participle in 2 § 10 τοῖς πεπρ. Φιλίππῳ and 41 § 24 τοῖς πεπρ. ἑαυτῷ : it precedes in Lys. 14 § 17 πρὸς τοῖς ἐκείνῳ πεπρ. The Dat. Plural has not been found in this collocation.

The Subject is never a person ; if it is a substantive it is cognate in sense with πράττειν, Isocr. 15 § 76 τῶν ἔργων τῶν πεπρ. αὐτοῖς, ib. 306 τῶν ἔργων τῶν τῇ πόλει πεπρ., Aeschin. 3 § 343 ἐκάστῳ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα πέπρακται, 1 § 37 περὶ ἐπιτηδεύματων τούτῳ πεπρ., Dem. 21 § 19 τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀδικήματα τούτῳ πεπρ.

The Aor. πραχθῆναι is rarely found with the Dat., 36 § 3 τὰ πραχθέντα τούτῳ, cp. 37 §§ 6, 9; 23 § 48 ἔν' ὅτῳ ποτὲ τοῦργον ἐπράχθη τούτῳ τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὑπῆρχε δίκαια, where it is due to a desire for symmetry of form.

The Impf. is found only in 3 § 26 οὐ γὰρ εἰς περιουσίαν ἐπράττετ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως, where εἰς περ. shows that the Dat. is akin to a Dat. commodi.

Among synonyms of πράττειν, ποιεῖν is thus used (in Perf. Pass.) only in Lys. [6] §§ 33, 50 (of poetical composition in Dem. 19 § 247; of works of art in [61] § 16); ἐργάζεσθαι in Dem. 20 § 87, 21 § 107, [53] § 18, Lys. 12 §§ 1, 37, 89, Isocr. 4 § 92; πονεῖν in 5 § 20; ἐπιτηδεύειν in Lys. 13 § 65. Among kindred verbs we have διοικεῖν, Dem. 22 § 74, 19 § 22; πολιτεύειν, as here and in 24 § 159 τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπολιτευμένων, 18 § 59 τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολ., Isocr. 16 § 45 τῶν Τεισιᾷ πεπολ., Lys. 21 § 18 οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι μοι πεπολιτεῦσθαι; πρεσβεύειν, 19 §§ 20, 240 bis, 242; ψηφίζεσθαι, 57 § 15, Lys. 12 § 30 (with ὑπό in Dem. 19 § 157, 57 § 29); ἀμαρτάνειν, 19 § 36, 9 § 25, 42 § 10, [17] § 21, [59] § 44, Lys. 25 § 19, 31 § 20, [20] § 22; ἀμελεῖν, Aeschin. 3 § 38; ἀσεβεῖν, Lys. [6] § 5; σωφρονεῖν, Aeschin. 2 § 4; νεανιεύειν, Dem. 21 § 18; βιῶναι, 22 §§ 23, 77; 19 §§ 199, 200, Lys. 16 § 1. With none of these verbs (except ψηφίζεσθαι) does Demosthenes use ὑπό.

The same construction is found with the Perf. and Pluperf. of λέγω, εἴρηται, etc., Dem. [52] § 11, 24 § 4, [33] § 38, Aeschin. 1 § 3, 3 §§ 9, 24, Lys.

24 § 4, 31 § 34, 1 §§ 21, 30; [2] § 2, Isocr. 4 §§ 14, 51; 5 § 29, 10 § 15, 12 § 13, 15 § 61. (For the Aor. there is an isolated example in Dem. 29 § 11 τὰ τοῦτῳ ῥηθέντα.) ὑπό is also used by Demosthenes and especially by Isocrates. The same applies to γράφειν, δηλοῦν, ἀποδεικνύναι, μαρτυρεῖν.

In the case of other verbs the Dat. of the Agent is akin to the Dat. commodi or incommodi, e.g. 24 § 14 ἡτοίμαστο δ' αὐτῷ τοῦτο . . καὶ προδιώκητο, 57 § 10 παρεσκευασμένοι, 6 § 23 παντοδαπὰ εὐρημένα ταῖς πόλεσι, 27 § 28 ἀποδέδονται, 24 § 187 ἐκτέτισται, 28 § 2 διελέλυτο, 51 § 5 ἐπεπλήρωτο, [50] § 23 ἐπετετριπάρχητο, 27 § 27 συμβεβλημένοι. Lys. 21 § 5 δεδαπανηται, Isocr. 4 § 14 τοῦ . . ἡμῖν διατριφθέντος (χρόνου). (In Dem. [35] § 7 ἐγνωρισμένοι τοῦτῳ is an adjectival use of the Participle; in Isaeus 11 § 5 γινώσκεισθαι ὑμῖν means 'is becoming known to you.') Karlowa *Progr.* 1883, pp. 9-12.

263. **περιστῆ**: Lys. 13 § 93 τὰ περιεστηκότα πράγματα, 'circumstances.' After περιστῆναι the Dat. is less common than the Acc. Cp. Fox on *Megalop.* § 28 p. 177.

263 f. **τὰ πράγματα** refers to the 'results'; **τῶν πεπραγμένων** (264) to the 'measures' by which these results are brought about (so West. and Weil). Both alike are submitted to the judgment of the people. ('Measures' and 'conduct' respectively is K.'s transl.) **τοιούτοι**: favourable or severe, according to circumstances.

265. **χρηστά**: sc. τὰ πράγματα (results). **παντὸς εἵνεκα**: taken by the schol. as *masc.* (διὰ πάντας, οἷον διὰ τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς νεωτέρους, τοὺς ῥήτορας, 4 § 51); so West. It is better taken as *neut.*, 'for every cause,' 'on every ground' (so Sauppe, approved by Rehdantz, Blass, Heslop, and less decidedly by Weil). Cp. παντὸς μᾶλλον, τίνος εἵνεκα, πολλῶν εἵνεκα, and especially Aesch. *Suppl.* 194 ἀμεινὸν ἐστὶ παντὸς εἵνεκα, 'by all means,' 'on every account.'

εἵνεκα (rather than **ἐνεκα**) is supported by good mss in 18 § 144, 20 §§ 1, 2, 98, 117, 128, 141, 145; 21 § 227, 23 §§ 137, 182 (cp. Voemel *Proleg.* § 116). It is specially preferred by Demosthenes after words like παντός, τίνος, παιδός, as it prevents the recurrence of more than two short syllables.

The speech (like *Or.* 4, 2, 8, 9 and 18) closes with words of good omen.

NOTES ON THE

SECOND OLYNTHIAC (OR. II)

§ 1 l. 1. ἐπὶ πολλῶν, 'on many occasions,' 'in many instances,' combined with ἴδοι τις ἄν in 20 § 13, and with σκοποῦντας in 18 § 210. ἐπί followed (for variety's sake) by ἐν in l. 3, as εἰς by πρὸς in 3 § 1.

2. τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν : § 22, 1 § 10, 19 §§ 256, 297.

3. φανεράν γιγνομένην, 'being continually manifested.'

4. τὸ—γεγενῆσθαι : Nom. to ἔοικεν, 'the fact that there are men prepared for a war with Philip'; further defined by καὶ—κεκτημένους κτλ., 'men possessed both of a neighbouring territory and of some (considerable) power.' τοὺς πολεμήσοντας is thus the predicate. It is sometimes taken as the subject, the predicate being in that case γεγενῆσθαι—κεκτημένους κτλ. On the Fut. Participle cp. note on 4 § 49 ll. 441 f.

6. τίνα : σύμμετρον ἢ μεγάλην (Schol.) § 14, 3 § 7 ll. 63 f, 6 § 12. When at war with Sparta (382 B.C.) Olynthus had only 400 horse, and its total numbers were only 4000 (19 § 263, Xen. *Hell.* v 2, 14); when conquered by Philip it had nearly 1000 horse and more than 10,000 hoplites (19 §§ 230, 268). Thirlwall v 308 suspects some exaggeration in this contrast.

8. διαλλαγᾶς : 1 § 4 καταλλαγᾶς.

10. νομίζεν ἀνάστασιν ('ruinous to,' K.): εἶναι or οὖσαν omitted for sake of greater emphasis. νομίζεν, placed in the second clause between πατρίδος and ἀνάστασιν, prevents the concurrence of four short syllables. δαιμονία : modified by

τινι, cp. *quidam*. θεία goes with παντάπασιν. Plato *Apol.* 31 D θεῖόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον. For the general sense cp. 19 § 225

ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὰ νῦν συμβεβηκότα . . δαιμονίας τινος εὐνοίας
ἐνδειγμα τῇ πόλει γεγενῆσθαι.

§ 2 l. 12. αὐτοῦς : contrasted with 'the gods.' ὅπως
μή . . δόξομεν : in apposition to τοῦτο, the object of σκοπεῖν,
'how we shall avoid seeming,' = ὅτῳ τρόπῳ μή δόξομεν, the
regular Fut. Ind. with ὅπως in *object clauses*. See note on l § 2,
and cp. 3 §§ 1, 2. If δόξωμεν is retained, ὅπως μή may be
regarded as denoting a purpose like ἵνα μή, 'lest we should
seem'; but even in *pure final clauses* the Fut. Ind. is more
common than the Aor. Subj. (see note on 4 § 22). ὅπως μή
with First Aor. Subj. is declared to be a solecism by 'Dawes'
canon,' but the rule is not universal (see Goodwin *MT*. § 364).

13. χείρους κτλ., 'less kind to ourselves'; Lys. 12 § 80
μηδὲ τῆς τύχης κάκιον ἡμῖν βοηθῆσαι. τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
ἡμῖν, 'present circumstances,' 'our existing advantages.'

14. τῶν αἰσχυρῶν . . τῶν αἰσχίστων : for similar genitives
neuter after εἶναι cp. 1 § 26 τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων ἂν εἴη, 20 § 135
ἐν τι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἐστί (Isaeus 6 § 97), 20 § 65 τῶν αἰσχίστων
ἐστί, Aeschin. 1 § 2 ἐν τι τῶν αἰσχίστων (καλλίστων ib. 143, 151)
εἶναι, Dem. 20 § 2 τῶν ἀδίκων (ib. 16 τῶν καλῶν) ἐστίν.
Rehdantz *Index* 2 s.v. *neutrum*, Kühner *Gr. Gr.* ii 317.
μᾶλλον δέ, 'or rather,' § 22.

15. πόλεων κτλ. (4 § 4) : attracted to the same case as
the following relative ὧν (Elmsley on Eur. *Med.* 12). To
correspond with the Gen. πόλεων κτλ. in the *first* clause, we
necessarily have τῶν—καιρῶν in the *second*. These genitives
are sometimes regarded as either partitive or as governed by
προϊεμένους (16), on the analogy of the Gen. after μεθίεσθαι
and ἀφίεσθαι (so Sauppe), but no example of this Gen. is quoted,
and the Acc. is found in 1 §§ 9, 12, etc. τόπων, 'positions,'
14 § 9.

§ 3 l. 19. τὸ μὲν οὖν : resumed by ταῦτα μὲν οὖν in l. 29, and
followed by ἀ δὲ καί, deferred to l. 35.

21. προτρέπειν : opp. to ἀποτρέπειν (cp. προτροπή opp. to
ἀποτροπή), 'advise,' or 'dissuade'—the two courses open in all
deliberative speaking.

22. πάν(τα) : not 'all the statements,' but 'all the facts,' as is
proved by πεπράχθαι in l. 24. Otherwise we should expect
εἰρησθαι.

23. ὑπὲρ (= περὶ) τούτων : 4 § 1 ; i.e. the various elements of
Philip's power. φιλοτιμίαν = δόξαν, § 16, 20 § 69, *Prooem.*
11 p. 1424 end.

24. οὐχὶ καλῶς πεπράχθαι: provisionally used as a mild equivalent for ἔχειν αἰσχύνην. The stronger phrase is reserved for the end of the next sentence, αἰσχύνην ὠφλήκατε (l. 29).

25. ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν (§ 8; 1 § 23), 'beyond his real *worth*,' corresponds to ἡ προσήκειν in the parallel clause, l. 27. Eur. *HF*. 146 ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν 'beyond deserts,' 'unduly'; Aristoph. *Av*. 1223 τυγχάνειν τῆς ἀξίας 'to get one's due.' 'His *repute*' (K.) is a less satisfactory rendering.

26. παρὰ πᾶσιν, 'in the opinion of all.'

28. κέχρησθε τοῖς πράγμασι: 1 § 3. αἰσχύνην ὠφλήκατε: 4 § 42, 1 § 26.

§ 4 l. 29. παραλείψω: the previous section is a fine example of what is technically called *παράλειψις*, 'dum enim silentio se rem praetermissurum affirmat, loquitur de ea paucis quidem sed gravissimis verbis, ut Athenienses suae agendi rationis non possit non pudere' (Bremi).

30. μετ' ἀληθείας, 'correctly,' 'accurately,' resumed by ὀρθῶς in l. 38.

31. ἐνθὲνδ(ε): the source of his greatness is in this Assembly and in the party of politicians now in power, τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπολιτευμένοις (l. 33). Cp. 3 § 28 l. 255.

32. ὦν, which goes with χάριν and δίκην alone, is here followed in some MSS by the antecedent τούτων just before οὐχὶ νῦν ὁρῶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ λέγειν (where καιρὸν governs τούτων as well as the epexegetic Inf. τοῦ λέγειν). Similarly ᾧ is followed by ταῦτα in ll. 35, 38.

33. πεπολιτευμένοις: Middle.

35. χωρὶς τούτων: 3 § 8, i.e. apart from what the orator omits. ἐνι (= ἐνεσσι) λέγειν: 3 § 23, 4 § 23, 8 § 47, 18 § 27.

36. βέλτιον (ἢ μὴ) ἀκηκοέναι, 'to have heard' here = 'to know.'

37. κατ' ἐκείνου . . ὀνειδῆ: 18 § 79 αἰτίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ.

§ 5 l. 41. λουδοριάν . . ἐλέγχειν: 22 § 22 πάμπολυ λουδορία τε καὶ αἰτία κεχωρισμένον ἐστὶν ἐλέγχου· αἰτία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν, ὅταν τις ψιλῶ χρησόμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχηται πίστιν ὡν λέγει, ἐλεγχος δ' ὅταν ὦν ἂν εἴπῃ τις καὶ τάληθές ὁμοῦ δείξῃ.

43. διεξιόντ(α) τινα: §§ 10, 23; 4 § 5, 8 § 64, 9 § 67.

44. συμβαίνει δεῖσθαι, 'fortunately requires.'

45. τοῦ τ' ἐκείνον . . καὶ (τοῦ) τοὺς: 5 § 1 οὐ μόνον τῷ . . ἀλλὰ καὶ (τῷ).

47. **ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους** : with Acc., as in Thuc. iii 82 τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκπεπληγμένους. Cp. 19 § 22 πεφοβημένων καὶ τεταραγμένων τὴν οἰκειότητα, Dinarchus 1 § 39 καταπλαγεὶς τὴν δύναμιν.

48. **πάντα διεξελήλυθεν** : either *transitive*, with Philip as the *personal* subject, 'has run through all,' as in Isocr. 4 § 111 τί τῶν αἰσchrῶν ἢ δεινῶν οὐ διεξήλθον ; cp. Thuc. iii 45, 3 διεξελήλυθας . . διὰ πασῶν τῶν ζημιῶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, and Plato Rep. 409 A πάντα ἀδικήματα αὐτὴν ἡδικηκυῖαν διεξελήλυθεναι : or (less probably) *intransitive*, with πάντα as *neuter* subject, as possibly in [11] § 3 οἷς πρότερον ἠϋξήθη, φευακίζων αἰετίναν καὶ μεγάλ' ἐπαγγελλόμενος εὐεργετήσῃν, ταῦτα πάντα διεξελήλυθεν ἤδη, and certainly in 21 § 84 πάντα δ' ἤδη διεξελήλυθει τὰς τῶν νόμων, ὑπωμοσίαι καὶ παραγραφαί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἦν ὑπόλοιπον. If the subject is not 'Philip' but πάντα, then τὰ πράγματα αὐτῷ becomes superfluous.

49. **πρότερον** goes with ἠϋξήθη as well as with παρακρουόμενος. With the latter cp. 6 §§ 23, 36 ; 20 §§ 74, 97. μετήκται τοῦνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσtάντας τι ἢ μετροῦντας κρούειν τὰ μέτρα καὶ διασεῖν ἔνεκα τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν (Harpocr.) μέγας ἠϋξήθη : proleptic as in § 8 ἦρθη μέγας, cp. 1 § 28.

§ 6 l. 51. **σφόδρ(α)** goes with φοβερόν . . καὶ θαυμαστόν, separated from the latter for emphasis, as in Lys. 13 § 44 σφόδρα ὑμῖν ἐλεεῖν προσήκει Ἀγόρατον. σφόδρα φοβερόν would have involved the juxtaposition of three short syllables.

53. **τὰ δίκαια πράττον(τα)** is subordinate to ἠϋξημένον.

54. **θεωρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν** : 4 § 3. εὐρίσκω (Φίλιππον) προσαγαγόμενον τὴν—εὐθήθειαν τῷ—φάσκειν—καὶ—κατασκευάσαι : the Dat. of the Inf. is here placed first and is resumed by its antecedent τούτῳ, as in 6 § 22, 8 § 56, 9 §§ 5, 17, 18. (59) τὴν—φιλίαν and (62) Θετταλοὺς are (like τὴν—εὐθήθειαν) dependent on προσαγαγόμενον. (54) ἡμετέραν, more conciliatory than ὑμετέραν, εὐθήθειαν. On the other hand, where the power of the people is concerned, we have in l. 56 the deferential pronoun ὑμῖν διαλεχθῆναι.

55. **Ὀλυνθίους ἀπήλυνον** (9 § 66 and 18 § 82 πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε) : 357 B.C.

56. **ἐνθένδε**, 'from this platform.' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῆναι : 24 § 48 τῷ δήμῳ διαλεχθῆναι, and 19 § 304.

57. **Ἀμφίπολιν—παραδώσειν** : [7] § 27 (Philip) τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἣν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔπεμψεν ὅτ' Ἀμφίπολιν ἐπολιούρκει, ἐπιλέλθεται, ἐν ᾗ ὠμολόγει τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ὑμετέραν εἶναι· ἔφη γὰρ

ἐκπολιορκήσας ὑμῖν ἀποδώσειν ὡς οὔσαν ὑμετέραν καὶ οὐ τῶν ἐχόντων, 23 § 116. Grote c. 86 vii 645.

58. τὸ θρυλούμενόν ποτ' ἀπόρρητον, 'the secret article which gave rise to so much gossip' in political circles. It was only known that there *was* a secret understanding, but its terms were unknown, and this only increased the amount of talk about it. This 'secret article' referred to a proposed surrender of Pydna to Philip in exchange for Amphipolis. ἀπόρρητον, 'a state secret'; cp. 1 § 4, Aristoph. *Eg.* 648, Aeschin. 3 § 96 πράξεις πράττειν ἐτέρας δι' ἀπορρήτων. (τῷ) κατὰσκειν: parallel to τῷ. . φάσκειν: the verb is often applied to underhand devices; 52 § 2 διαθήκας ψευδεῖς κατεσκευακότες, 45 § 5 μηχανᾶται καὶ κατασκευάζει ταῦτα, 21 § 134 etc.

Theopompus (quoted by Photius p. 588) καὶ πέμπουσι πρὸς Φίλιππον πρεσβευτὰς Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ Χαρίδημον πράξοντας καὶ περὶ φιλίας, οἱ παραγενόμενοι συμπεῖθειν αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρουν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ συμπράττειν Ἀθηναίους, ὅπως ἂν λάβωσιν Ἀμφίπολιν ὑπισχνούμενοι Πύδναν· οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰς μὲν τὸν δῆμον οὐδὲν ἀπήγγελλον, βουλόμενοι λανθάνειν τοὺς Πυδναίους ἐκδιδόναι μέλλοντες αὐτούς, ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δὲ μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔπραττον. Grote c. 86 vii 665 f, ASchaefer ii 20².

'Assuming that these negotiations took place, a fact that is not doubted by modern writers, then Athens was more to blame than Philip, for Philip betrayed no one, while Athens betrayed the trust reposed in her by Pydna,' Holm *Gk. Hist.* iii c. 15 note 8.

59. προσαγαγόμενον: Thuc. iii 43, 2 ἀπάτῃ προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος.

§ 7 l. 60. Ποτείδαιαν κτλ.: 356 B.C.; cp. 1 § 12.

61. ἐξελεῖν, 'to take completely,' or 'by storm,' *expugnare*; or 'to destroy,' 'raze'; 8 § 44, 23 § 115, Thuc. iii 113, 6, viii 46, 3. The latter is probably the meaning here.

The fact that Poteidaea was handed over to the Olynthians (l. 62) makes it doubtful at first sight whether its destruction was complete. Diodorus xvi 8 simply says τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐξανδραποδισάμενος, but the excerpts of Gemistus Plethon 1, 15 add καὶ κατασκάψας, while the schol. on Dem. 6 § 20 adds καὶ ἄψας instead. It was rebuilt by Cassander in 316 B.C. (ASchaefer ii 25² n. 1).

συμμάχους: the Poteidaean (schol.) There was no alliance between Philip and Athens, but only between Philip and the Athenians resident in Poteidaea, [7] § 10. The addition of ὑμᾶς in many of the mss implies that συμμάχους was supposed to refer to the Athenians, to whom Philip had offered alliance in 359 B.C. (23 § 121).

62. παραδῶναι Ποτείδαιαν Ὀλυνθίοις: 6 § 20, 23 § 107. The *site* alone is probably meant. Θετταλούς: 1 § 12.

63. Μαγνησίαν παραδώσειν: so far from surrendering Magnesia, Philip began to fortify it (1 § 22). He only *offered*

to surrender it (M. ἐδίδου, 6 § 22) in 346 B.C., at the close of the Phocian war.

64. τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον : 1 § 26 ; 355–46 B.C.

The Phocians 'had laid themselves open to a charge of sacrilege, having taken into cultivation a portion of the fruitful plain (of Cirrha), which had been doomed by the decree of the Amphictyons in the first Sacred War to lie for ever waste . . . Thebes did not put herself forward, but probably instigated some of the *Thessalian* members of the council to prosecute the Phocians for this offence' Thirlwall v 265. Philip ultimately fulfilled the promise to the Thessalians recorded in the text by bringing the Phocian war to an end in 346 B.C.

65. ὅλως, 'in short.' See also l. 127.

67. ἐκάστων . . αἰέ, 'every people *in turn*,' 1 § 9 ; Plato *Gorg.* 464 D τῷ δὲ αἰέ ἡδίστῳ θηρεύεται τὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ ἐξαπατᾷ. ἄνοιαν, 'infatuation'; more mildly termed εὐήθεια when the orator's own countrymen are concerned, l. 55.

68. προσλαμβάνων, 'winning over,' 'gaining over,' 'turning to his own use,' Aeschin. 3 § 126 προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ γράψαντος ἀπειρίαν. Cp. l. 59 προσαγαγόμενον.

69. οὕτως sums up the sense of the two preceding participles.

§ 8 l. 69. διὰ τούτων : either masc. ἐκάστων . . τῶν ἀγνοούντων αὐτόν, mentioned again in the next clause, ἕκαστοι (so Rehdantz and others), or (more probably) neut. (so Heslop). The latter is confirmed by διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ in Thucydides quoted below, also by the neut. in οἷς . . ἠϋξήθη in § 5 (l. 48), and by δι' ὧν and διὰ τούτων in § 26. Cp. Aristot. *Eth. N.* ii 1, 6 ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ γίνεται πᾶσα ἀρετὴ καὶ φθίρεται. In 3 § 31, however, διὰ τούτων is certainly masc.

70. ἡρθη μέγας : § 5 μέγας ἠϋξήθη. For the sense cp. Thuc. vi 11, 3 ᾧ γὰρ ἂν τρόπῳ τὴν ἡμετέραν (ἀρχὴν) μετὰ Πελοποννησίων ἀφέλωνται, εἰκὸς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν σφετέραν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καθαιρεθῆναι.

71. ὀφείλει : Aesch. *Frag.* 456 Νᾶυκ δρᾶσαντι γάρ τοι καὶ παθεῖν ὀφείλεται, Soph. *Frag.* 209 τὸν δρῶντα—ὀφείλεται.

72. ἐπειδή, 'now that,' as in 1 § 7, not 'since,' for which ἐπεὶ is used in 4 §§ 2, 25. ἐπειδή is ambiguous in 4 § 1. ἐπειδή also occurs in 5 § 8, 8 §§ 1, 40 ; 9 §§ 6, 24 bis, 57, 64, 72, etc. ; in all 196 times in *temporal* sense (including 111 Aor., 55 Imperf., 13 Perf., 17 Pluperf., 3 Pres. Ind.), 75 times in *causal* sense (including 30 Pres., 13 Imperf., 18 Aor., 7 Perf. Ind.) ἐπεὶ *causal* predominates over ἐπεὶ *temporal*, except in Herod. (64 : 435) and Xen. (117 : 800). In Demosthenes the exx. are 54 : 9 (Zycha *Wiener Studien* vii 84, 106).

73. ποιῶν ἐξελήλεκται: Goodwin *MT.* § 687. καιροῦ: emphatic, dependent on πρὸς τοῦτο, with which cp. 1 § 8.

75. ἡ ('or,' 'else') παρελθόν—δειξάτω: 3 § 28 ἡ φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ προσελθών. Cp. *aut* (=εἰ δὲ μή) in Cic. *de Fin.* iv 72 *aut doceat*. It is clearly different to the ordinary use of ἡ, found thrice in the rest of the sentence: (76) ἡ ὥς—λέγω, ἡ κτλ., i.e. 'either that my facts (§§ 6, 7) are untrue, or my inferences wrong.'

79. δεδουλωμένοι: the Thessalians are of course meant, though they cannot be mentioned in a generalised statement. Some (e.g. Franke) regard the implied 'enslavement' of the Thessalians as an exaggeration; but δουλεία is the regular term for 'political subjection,' which is here intended. Thuc. i 8, 4, ii 63, 1, v 69, 1 (Heslop). (ὥς) . . οὐκ ἂν . . γένοιτ(ο): potential Opt., not suggesting any definite condition (Goodwin *MT.* § 236). The mood and tense of the Opt. with ἂν are unaffected by indirect discourse with ὥς or ὅτι (ib. § 681).

§ 9 l. 82. καθέξειν—τὰ πράγματα, 'will maintain his power.'

83. τὰ χωρία ('forts,' or 'fortified places,' such as Pydna, Poteidaea, Methone). καὶ λιμένας (in Thessaly, 1 § 22, e.g. Pagasae). For the omission of the Article cp. 23 § 70 τοὺς γεγραμμένους νόμους καὶ ἀγραφα νόμιμα. Even before words contrasted with one another in sense the Article may be omitted, when there is no special reason (as in 1 § 22 τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τὰς ἀγοράς) for making each word equally prominent. Cp. Rehdantz *Index* 2 s.v. *Artikel*.

84. προειληφέναι, 'occupied,' 'taken by surprise.'

ὅταν μὲν—(100) εἶναι προσήκει. 'When a confederacy rests upon union of sentiments, and all have one common interest in the war, men take a delight in sharing the same toils, in bearing the same burdens, and in persevering together to the end. But when, by aggression and intrigue, one party, like this Prince, has waxed powerful over the rest, the first pretext, the slightest reverse, shakes off the yoke, and it is gone! For it is not, O men of Athens, it is not in nature, that stability should be given to power by oppression, and falsehood, and perjury. Dominion may for once be thus obtained; it may even endure for a season; and, by the favour of fortune, may present to men's hopes a flourishing aspect; but time will search it, and of itself it must crumble in pieces. For, as the lower part of buildings and vessels, and all such structures, should be the most solid, so ought the motives and principles of our actions to be founded in justice and in truth' (Brougham's *Works* vii 29, 188). As a modern parallel cp. Sir William Harcourt on the Turkish Empire:—'You may prop, you may patch up, that rotten edifice as you please, but the decayed and decaying fragments will crumble to pieces in spite of all your efforts' (Speech on Armenia *Times* 6th Oct. 1896 p. 5 b).

85. ὅταν μὲν—συστή, 'when power is kept together (con-

solidated) by good-will.' The scattered portions of Philip's dominions are described in 8 § 41 as τὰ νῦν συμβεβιασμένα.

86. συμπονεῖν καὶ φέρειν τὰς συμφοράς κτλ., 'to share the toil and to bear the hardships (of war) and to persevere.' It is unnecessary to suppose that the preposition of the first verb influences the second. Demosthenes could hardly have said συμφέρειν τὰς συμφοράς, especially after using συμφέρῃ in another sense in the previous clause. The first two phrases have nevertheless a closer affinity with one another than with the third; cp. Soph. *Ant.* 537 καὶ ξυμμετίσχω καὶ φέρω τῆς αἰτίας 'I share the burden of the charge' (Jebb).

89. (ῥταν) ἰσχύσῃ, 'has become powerful'; dependent on gnomic Aor., ἀνεχαίτισεν κτλ., regarded as a primary tense (Goodwin *MT.* §§ 171, 533, 155). ἡ πρώτη πρόφασις, 'the very first cause,' or 'occasion,' however trifling. Cp. Plato *Rep.* 566 E quoted in first note on § 21.

90. μικρὸν πταῖσμα, 'the slightest reverse,' lit. 'a slight stumble.' ἀνεχαίτισεν: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνέκοψεν ἢ ἀνέτρεψεν (Harpocr.), 'upsets,' 'shakes off,' 'throws off,' as a horse throws his rider, when he rears and tosses up his mane (χαίτη). Eur. *Bacch.* 1072 φυλάσσω μὴ ἀναχαιτίσειέ νιν, *Hipp.* 1232 ἔσφηλε κἀνεχαίτισεν, *Dionys. Ant. Rom.* v 15 οἱ ἵπποι . . ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπισθοῖς ἀνίστανται ποσὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀναχαιτίσαντες ἀποσεύονται, *Pollux* 1 § 210 καὶ ἀποσεύονται (τὸν ἵππότην) καὶ ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ἀναχαιτίζουσιν, ἰστάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς οὐραίους πόδας. We have another metaphor from horsemanship in 9 § 51 ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι 'plunged head foremost into ruin.' In the text the metaphor is softened by the addition of a fresh metaphor (91) διέλυσεν, 'breaks up,' suggested by (85) συστή. For a similar combination of metaphors cp. *Isocr.* 7 § 12 οὐδένα χρόνον τὰς εὐτυχίας κατασχεῖν ἡδυνήθημεν, ἀλλὰ ταχέως διεσκαριφησάμεθα καὶ διελύσαμεν αὐτάς. The imitator of Demosthenes in [11] § 7 has διέσεισε καὶ διέλυσεν (gnomic Aor. as here).

The whole passage (ll. 89-96) is imitated by Choricus, quoted by Voemel ed. 1829 μικρὰ πρόφασις καὶ τὸ τυχὸν ἐναντίωμα πάλιν ἀνέτρεπε τὰς σπονδάς. τὰ γὰρ εὐνοίας χωρὶς καὶ πόθου συνιστάμενα σαθρά τε καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ βραχὺν ἀνῆσαντα χρόνον ἀπομαραίνεται.

§ 10 l. 91. ἔστιν . . ἔστιν: 1 § 19, 4 §§ 10, 18, 46.

92. ψευδόμενον (τινα): less strong than the preceding ἐπιорκοῦντα.

93. βεβαίαν, 'solid,' 'firmly established.' For the general sense of the sentence cp. 18 § 227 θεάσασθε ὡς σαθρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ἢ πεπραγμένον.

94. εἰς . . ἅπαξ, 'for once,' 21 § 131 εἰσάπαξ opp. to πολὺν χρόνον: 'once for all,' Thuc. v 85, 1: 'once,' Eur. *Andr.* 943. Cp. ἐς τρις. ἄντέχει: 1 § 25.

95. ἡνθησ(ε) (gnomic Aor., Goodwin *MT.* §§ 155, 159): Eur. *El.* 943 ὁ δ' ὀλβος ἀδίκως . . ξυνὼν | ἐξέπτar' οἴκων, σμικρὸν ἀνθήσας χρόνον, *Psalms* ciii 15 *As a flower of the field, so he flourisheth*, also xc 5-6, *Isaiah* xl 6, 1 *Pet.* i 24, *James* i 10, *Pliny NH.* xxi 1 *flores odoresque in diem gignit (natura) magna admonitione hominum, quae spectatissime, floreat celerissime marcescere.*

σφόδρα γ' ἡνθησ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, 'flourish in the fulness of their promise,' 'blossom fairly with hope' (K.), 'blossom with the fair leaves of hope' (HMWilkins), lit. 'by reason of (on the ground of) the hopes' they inspire. 18 §§ 38, 64, 84 ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι, 19 §§ 51, 87, 121 ἐπὶ ταῖς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλπίσιν. ἂν τύχη, 'maybe' (K.), sc. ἀνθούντα.

ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, 'ils fleurissent, ils sont exaltés, parce qu'on s'attend à un avenir brillant' (Weil); '. . Blühen erst herrlich in der Erwartung, Meinung der Menschen, d. h. erregen erst glänzende Erwartungen' (EMüller); '. . Entwickeln wohl eine rasche Blüthe auf die Erwartungen hin, die sie erregen . . Eine Macht steigt oft schnell, wenn sie grosse Erwartungen erregt; denn diese tragen selbst dazu bei sie zu heben und zu verstärken, weil eine solche Macht leicht Bundesgenossen findet, die sich ihr anschliessen' (Hahn *Comm. in honorem Mommseni* p. 696; similarly Franke). This interpretation seems better than Rüdiger's 'ita ut (non eo quod) opem excitent.'

Shakespeare *Henry VIII* Act iii Sc. 2, 352 *This is the state of man: to-day he puts forth The tender leaves of hopes; to-morrow blossoms, And bears his blushing honours thick upon him.*

96. φωράται, with its three long syllables, appropriately expresses the slowness of the defection; while the double dactyl in καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ suits the rapidity of the fall. <Dupin> *Essais sur Dém. et son éloquence* p. 42, quoted by Voemel, ed. 1829. περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ, 'drop away,' 'collapse and wither away'; περὶ αὐτά referring, in the metaphor, either to the withered petals falling around the flower, or (as Heslop thinks) to the 'fading flowers round the stem.' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθέων τῶν μαραινομένων τὸ καταρρεῖν σχεδὸν κυρίως λέγεται (Hermogenes *Rhet. Gr.* ii 368 Sp.); 22 § 70 ἀπορρεῖν τὰ φύλλα τῶν στεφάνων, *Lys.* 31 § 22 τὰ τεῖχη περικαταρρέοντα 'falling into ruins,' *Cic. de Off.* ii 43 *facta omnia celeriter tamquam flosculi decidunt, Tusc.* v 62 *etiam ipsae defluebant coronae.*

The passage is imitated by Chrysostom (quoted by Dobree) *Hom.* 29 init. ψεύδους οὐδὲν ἀσθενέστερον κὰν μυρίοις παραπετάσμασι σκευάζεται· εὐφωράτόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὕτω γίγνεται καὶ καταρρεῖ ραδίως, and vol. viii 167 A τὰ . . ἀνθρώπινα ἅπαντα εὐφώρατα καὶ σαθρὰ καὶ καταρρεῖ τάχως καὶ ἀπόλλυται.

98. τὰ κάτωθεν, 'the lower parts,' 'the parts beginning from below upwards.' κάτωθεν, used instead of κάτω, not

merely prevents *hiatus*, but is really more expressive besides: *ἐπειδὴ κάτωθεν ἀπὸ θεμελίων ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω οἰκοδομεῖται οἶκος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ναὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τρύπιδος* (schol.) But this explanation would not apply to 22 § 72 *κάτωθεν γεγραμμένα*, 23 § 28 *ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος*.

99. *τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις* (= τὰ ὑποκείμενα, suggested by the *foundation* of the house, etc.): 3 § 2 *πρὶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρθῶς ὑποθέσθαι*.

101. *τοῖς πεπραγμένοις Φιλίππῳ*: 41 § 24 *τοῖς πεπρ. εἰαυτῷ*, a favourite construction with Demosthenes. See note on 1 § 28 ll. 261, 264.

§ 11 l. 103. *φημὶ δὴ δεῖν . . βοηθεῖν*: 1 § 17.

104. *ὅπως τις λέγει (βοηθεῖν) κάλλιστα κτλ.*, 'the best and quickest way (of sending succours) which any one proposes, is the way which I approve.' For this use of *ὅπως* with superlative, followed by *οὕτω*, cp. 8 § 47 *ὅπως ἐν . . ἀκριβεστάτην . . οὕτω*. Cp. also 4 § 13 *ὡς ἂν μοι βέλτιστα καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι*, and 14 § 14 *τὴν παρασκευήν, ὅπως ὡς ἀριστα καὶ τάχιστα γενήσεται*.

105. *οὕτως ἀρέσκει μοι*, which *implies* a superlative, corresponds to *ὅπως—κάλλιστα κτλ.*

πρὸς . . Θετταλοὺς πρεσβείαν πέμπειν: was this embassy sent? and with what result? The reply to these questions is supposed by Hartel *Dem. Anträge* p. 535 to be contained in an inscription relating to a Thessalian alliance, of which only a few fragments remain, (*IA. II i 88*). The inscription is, however, placed by Köhler between Ol. 101 (376-3 B.C.) and Ol. 106 (356-3 B.C.) If so, it is at least four years too early for our purpose. It also represents the Thessalians as taking the first step, and the Athenians as sending an embassy in return, [*καλέσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐπὶ ξένια*] followed by *οὔδε ἡρέθ[η]σαν πρέσβεις*, whereas in the text the first step is apparently taken by the Athenians. Athens had already made an alliance with the Thessalians in Ol. 104, 4 (361 B.C.), Hicks no. 97.

106. *ἢ . . διδάξει . . παροξυνεῖ*: relative with Fut. Indic. of *purpose* (Goodwin *MT.* § 505). *τοὺς μὲν καὶ τοὺς δέ* imply that the Thessalians were divided into two parties. The schol. distinguishes these as (1) those who were ignorant of Philip's character, (2) those who knew and feared him. It seems better to regard them as (1) those who were eager to receive aid in opposing Philip, and (2) those who had still to be incited to oppose him. *ταῦτα*, probably 'information as to the coming succours,' and not a statement of the orator's views respecting Philip.

108. *Παγασὰς . . Μαγνησίας*: 1 § 13.

109. *λόγους ποιεῖσθαι*: 1 § 22; 'make representations,'

'remonstrate'; cp. 27 § 15, and Lys. 32 § 12 (coupled with ἡγανάκτουν). This 'resolve' of the Thessalians is quoted to prove that some at least of them already mistrust Philip, and can be further aroused to oppose him.

§ 12 l. 109. σκοπεῖσθε . . τοῦτ(ο) . . ὅπως μὴ . . ἐροῦσιν : the ordinary Fut. Indic. in *object clauses* with ὅπως or ὅπως μὴ after verbs of *striving, planning, caring for, effecting*; here in apposition to τοῦτο, the object of σκοπεῖσθε. Cp. 20 § 157 (after διεσπούδασται) ὅπως μὴ γενήσονται οἱ περὶ ἀλλήλους φόνοι, 23 § 62 (after πρόνοιαν ἔχειν) ὅπως κύριος ἔσται (ὁ νόμος) καὶ μήτε συγχυθῆσεται μήτ' αὐ μεταποιηθῆσεται, 19 §§ 250, 316 (Goodwin *MT.* § 339). See note on 1 § 2 l. 20.

112. δεικνύειν : for δεικνύναι (thus avoiding *hiatus*); 24 §§ 48, 66; [42] § 17, [43] § 18, [48] § 46. δεικνύω (rarer than δεικνυμι) is found in 18 § 76, 21 § 169, etc.

113. ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, 'engaged in action'; § 16, 9 § 2, Isocr. 3 § 19 ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ὄντες.

114. ἂν ἀπῇ : Goodwin *MT.* §§ 89, 462.

115. ὁ παρὰ . ., 'that of'; see note on 1 § 10.

116. ὅσῳ . . ἐτοιμότατ(α) . . τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον, 'the more we are deemed to excel all others in powers of speech, the more is our speaking mistrusted by all.' Superlative combined with Comparative as in [50] § 15 ὅσῳ γὰρ . . ἀμεινον ἐπληρωσάμην τὴν ναῦν . . τοσοῦτῳ μοι πλείστη ἀπόλειψις ἐγένετο. The double Superlative is preferred by the writer of [11] § 23 ὡς ἅπας μὲν ἐστὶ λόγος μάταιος πράξεων ἀμοιρος γενόμενος, τοσοῦτῳ δὲ μάλισθ' ὁ παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ὅσῳ δοκοῦμεν αὐτῷ προχειρότατα χρῆσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων.

§ 13 l. 118. τὴν μετὰστασιν, 'the reformation,' 'the altered state resulting from a change,' *conversio, conversus status*; (119) τὴν μεταβολήν (if retained), 'the act of change,' *mutatio* (Porppo on Thuc. ii 48, 3, cp. vi 20, 1). 'Est autem μεταβολή in universum repentina, temeraria et varia mutatio; μετὰστασις status mutatus quidem, sed firmus' (Voemel ed. 1829).

119. εἰσφέροντας ὑμᾶς, after δεικτέον, = δεικνύναι δεῖ.

120. εἴπερ κτλ., 'if any one is *really* to give you any heed'; Soph. *OT.* 54, Aristoph. *Av.* 899, *Nub.* 930.

121. προσέξει = προσέχειν μέλλει. Plato *Rep.* 567 BC εἰ μέλλει ἄρξειν followed by εἴπερ ἄρξει, Isocr. 5 § 13 εἴπερ μέλλουσι τινες προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν.

122. καὶ δῆ, 'at once,' 4 § 13.

123. τὰ συμμαχικά: Philip's 'alliances,' or 'allied forces.' ἀπίστως ἔχοντα, 'untrustworthy,' 'precarious.'

§ 14 l. 127. ὅλως, 'on the whole,' 'to speak roundly' (K.); § 7, 1 § 5, 3 § 35, 8 § 42, etc.

128. ἐν προσθήκῃ, 'as an accessory' ('addition,' 'adjunct,' 'make-weight'); *additamentum* (Cic. *pro Sestio* 31). Cp. ἐν παρέργῳ (Thuc. vi 69, Soph. *Phil.* 473), ἐν ἀδικήματι (Hyp. *Eucl.* col. 36, 25), ἐν παρακαταθήκῃ (Polyb. v 74, 5). The version of the text in [11] § 8 has ἐν μὲν προσθήκης μέρει, also found in 3 § 31 and 21 § 165; cp. 23 § 148 οὐ τίθημι ἐν ἀδικήματος μέρει, and 2 § 18. μερίς . . οὐ μικρά, 'no small aid' or 'advantage'; 21 § 184 ἔστιν . . μεγάλη τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἅπασι μερίς καὶ πλεονεξία ἢ τῶν ὑμετέρων τρόπων πραότης, and ib. § 70.

129. ὑπῆρξε: sc. μερίς οὐ μικρά. It may also be taken absolutely, *praesto fuit, iuvit*, as in 18 § 174 ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ, 19 § 54 τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι, Xen. *Anab.* i 1, 4 Παρύσατις . . ὑπῆρξε τῷ Κύρῳ. This is supported by the verbs in the parallel clauses, ἐφάνη and ἐβοήθησε.

ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου, 'in the time of (or 'under') Timotheus,' who was joined by Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, in an expedition against the Olynthian confederation, in the course of which he captured Poteidaea and Torone (364 B.C.) Diodor. xv 81; Grote c. 79 vii 263.

130. πρὸς Ποτεΐδαιαν: § 7, 1 § 12. In the speech against Aristocrates (delivered 352 B.C.) Demosthenes treats the capture of Poteidaea as mainly the work of Philip (23 § 107); in the second *Olynthiac* he speaks as if Philip had been a secondary agent, a useful adjunct to the Olynthians in the siege. The first representation, delivered two or three years before the second, is doubtless the more correct (Grote c. 86 vii 667).

131. ἐφάνη τι, 'proved of some importance.' τοῦτο: the Macedonian power. συναμφοτέρον: σὺν ἄλλῳ τινι γενόμενον (schol.); an exceptional sense (obviated by Madvig's punctuation). In the only other passages in which it is found in Demosthenes (3 § 18, 19 § 180) it is used in neut. pl. of two things taken together. νυνί: with past tense, 'quite lately.' Cp. Shilleto on 19 § 65 p. 361 ὅτε νῦν ἐπορευόμεθα.

132. Θετταλοῖς: Dat. after ἐφάνη. νοσοῦσι, 'divided by faction,' 9 §§ 12, 50; 18 § 45, Plato *Rep.* 470 c, 556 E, Aristot. *Const. of Athens* 6 § 4. ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν, 'the ruling house' of the tyrants of Pherae, as represented by Lykophron and Peitholaüs, 1 § 13.

'Such a reinforcement so completely altered the balance of Thessalian power, that Lykophron in his turn was compelled to entreat aid from Onomarchus and the Phokians' Grote c. 87 viii 19 (cp. 47 f). Thirlwall v 279, ASchaefer i 506².

133. ὅποι τις ἂν οἶμαι προσθῇ: Goodwin *MT.* § 218.

134. κἄν μικρὰν δύναμιν, 'a force, however small'; Soph. *El.* 1482 ἀλλὰ μοι πάρες κἄν σμικρὸν εἰπεῖν. κἄν=καὶ ἂν τις προσθῇ (Goodwin *MT.* § 228). It is assumed that the forces on both sides are practically equal to begin with. For the general sense cp. Isocr. 4 § 139 ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς πολλάκις μικραὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας ῥοπὰς ἐποίησαν. πάντ(α): cogn. Acc. after ὠφελεῖ, 'it gives every help,' 'helps decisively,' 'is undoubtedly useful' (K.), opp. to οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ: cp. 3 § 21 μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν, and especially Xen. *Cyr.* ii 2, 12 τὸν πλεῖστα . . ὠφελοῦντα (so Franke, GHSchaefer and Voemel).

πάντα is less satisfactorily taken (1) as the object of ὠφελεῖ, 'is useful to the whole'; or (2) as Nom., *omnia, vel minima prosunt, quae aliis adduntur* (so Sauppe, Dindorf, Whiston and Weil); but this would naturally be expressed by *πᾶσα (δύναμις) ὠφελεῖ*.

135. αὐτῇ . . καθ' αὐτήν: opp. to ἐν προσθήκῃ (128).

§ 15 l. 136. οὗτος: Philip.

137. οἷς, 'in (or 'by') which'; 9 § 40 οἷς ἂν τις ἰσχύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι.

138. ἐπισφαλεστέραν, 'more insecure,' sc. τὴν Μακεδονικὴν δύναμιν.

142. τοῦτ(ο) (τὸ δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖν) ἐξήλωκεν, 'has made this his passion'; 20 § 30 πρόνοιαν ἐποιεῖτο . . τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ . . περὶ τούτου . . ἐσπούδαζεν. καὶ προήρηται κτλ., 'has deliberately chosen to suffer whatever may befall him, during a life of action and adventure.' For Inf. after προαιρεῖσθαι cp. 3 § 21, 4 § 49.

This is better than taking τοῦτ' ἐξήλωκεν καὶ προήρηται together, and making τοῦτο refer to the subsequent παθεῖν, as though Philip's ambition was 'to suffer everything.' The punctuation adopted in the text (*coniuncta* after ἐξήλωκεν and not after ἐπιθυμεῖ) is supported by Rüdiger in *Philologus* 18 (1862), 722 against Holzinger and Westermann⁴.

143. ἂν συμβῇ τι: 8 § 41, 20 § 50, 21 § 112. παθεῖν: euphemistic for ἀποθανεῖν. ἂν συμβῇ τι παθεῖν is sometimes taken together (e.g. by Westermann), as in 23 § 59 ἂν ἄρα συμβῇ τι παθεῖν ἐκείνῳ, and 54 § 25 εἰ παθεῖν τί μοι συνέβη, but this leaves προήρηται with no construction after it, unless it is coupled with τοῦτ' ἐξήλωκεν. τὴν—δόξαν: with nine words intervening, a comprehensive Acc. governing the Gen. of an Inf. which itself takes an Acc. followed by a relative clause. For other examples cp. 1 § 13 (end), 5 § 5, 6 § 2 τὸ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν συμβουλευσαί, and ib. § 29.

144. μηδεῖς: sc. διεπράξατο. In quest of glory Philip lost an eye at the siege of Methone, broke his collar-bone in

Illyria, and damaged his thigh in Scythia (schol. on 18 § 67 q.v.) Cp. Theopompus (ap. Athen. 435 B), and Diodor. xv 3.

§ 16 l. 146. **φιλοτιμίας**: § 3.

147. **κοπτόμενοι**: *ταλαιπωρούμενοι* (Hesych.), 'harassed'; *Prooem.* 29 § 3 ἵνα . . μὴθ' ὑμῖν ἐνοχλῶ μὴτ' ἐμᾶντὸν κόπτω (ib. 37 § 2).

148. **ἄνω κάτω**: 4 § 41.

149. **ἐπί**: § 12. **τοῖς ἔργοις**, 'their work,' especially industrial or agricultural employments; Thuc. ii 40 § 1, Aeschin. 3 § 8.

150. **τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις**, 'their private affairs' (in general). Isocr. 3 § 19 (citizens holding office under a democracy) τὸν . . πλείστον χρόνον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις διατρίβουσιν, Aristot. *Pol.* 1309^a 6 πρὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις εἶναι and ib. 8, and 1318^b 13 διατρίβειν πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις, *Rhet.* ii 6, 20 οἷς ἡ διατριβὴ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πέλας ἀμαρτίαις. **ἐώμενοι**: rare in Passive; Thuc. i 142, 3 ἐασόμενοι, Isocr. 4 § 97 εἰάθησαν.

151. **ὅσ' ἂν ποιήσωσιν**, 'the little they can produce'; ποιεῖν of 'producing' corn or wine, [42] §§ 20, 31 and Aristoph. *Pax* 1322. **οὕτως—δύνωνται**, 'with such difficulty as they can'; 21 § 140 ὅπως δύναται, Thuc. ii 52, 3 ὡς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, vii 67, 4 οὕτως ὅπως δύνανται.

152. **διαθέσθαι**, 'to dispose of'; Xen. *Anab.* vi 6, 37. **κεκλειμένων τῶν ἐμπορίων**: the blockade of the Macedonian ports is mentioned in 19 §§ 153, 315, and (at a later date) 18 § 145.

§ 17 l. 154. **πῶς ἔχουσι Φιλίππῳ**: [11] § 10 πῶς διάκεινται πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον. For ἔχειν with Adv. cp. 3 § 8, 8 § 73, 9 §§ 46, 63, etc.

156. **πεζῆταιροι**, 'body-guards,' 'the King's Own regiment of infantry,' composed of Macedonians as contrasted with foreign mercenaries.

Θεόπομπός φησιν ὅτι ἐκ πάντων τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπίλεκτοι οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι ἐδουρφόρουσαν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο πεζῆταιροι (schol.). Ἀναξιμένης ἐν α' Φιλιππικῶν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου (elder brother of Philip) λέγων φησὶν. "ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν ἐνδοξοτάτους ἱππεύειν συνεθίσας ἐταίρους προσηγόρευσε, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐς λόχους καὶ δεκάδας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς διελὼν πεζεταίρους ὠνόμασεν, ὅπως ἐκάτεροι μετέχοντες τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐταιρίας προθυμότεροι διατελώσιν ὄντες" (Harpoer.) Thirlwall v 177 f, Grote c. 92 viii 294, ASchaefer ii 36².

157. **συγκεκροτημένοι**, 'well-trained,' 'well-drilled'; lit. 'welded into one body.' 21 § 17 *συγκροτεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν τὸν χορόν*, Thuc. viii 95 Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τάχος καὶ ἀξυγκροτήτοις

πληρώμασιν ἀναγκασθέντες χρήσασθαι, Xen. *Hell.* vi 2, 12 ἐπὶ συγκεκροτημένας ναῦς εἰκὴ περιπλεῦσαι, Polybius i 61 πληρώματα συγκεκροτημένα.

158. ὥς . . ἤκουον : here, as elsewhere, Demosthenes gives his authority for his facts. Cp. 1 §§ 22, 23 ; 4 § 9, 8 § 14 ὥς φασιν. It is conjectured (by Blass) that his authority in the present instance was the historian Theopompus, the future author of the *Philippica*. Conversely, it has been suggested that Theopompus borrowed part of his language from the present passage of Demosthenes.

159. οὐδαμῶς οἴου τε ψεύδεσθαι : 20 § 23 χορηγεῖν οἶοί τε, *Prooem.* 55 § 2 οἶοί τ' ἐνοχλεῖν (without ὄντες) ; 'utterly incapable of lying.' Such a description may readily be applied in Greek, as in English, to one who, owing to his moral character, cannot possibly tell a lie. οἴου τε, applied to capability (1 § 26 οὐχ οἶοί τ' ὄντες φυλάττειν), is in fact a stronger term than οἴου, applied to character (4 § 9 οὐχ οἷός ἐστι . . μένειν). Thus 'capable of lying' is a stronger term than 'likely to lie.'

'I do not distinguish between a statement made by an official to the Government and one made to the newspapers. I do not understand that a man lies when he writes to the newspapers, and that he tells the truth when he makes an official statement. If he is capable of lying in one case, he is capable of lying in both' (Mr. Chamberlain in *Times* for 12th Aug. 1896 p. 6 f).

160. οὐδένων . . βελτίους : 1 § 17 οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάττων, Xen. *Vect.* 1 § 1 οὐδενὸς ἤττων, [Plato] *Alc.* 2, 148 c οὐδένων ἤττων εὐτυχεῖς εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι. For the general sense cp. [11] § 10 (Voemel).

§ 18 l. 161. οἷος ἔμπειρος = τοιοῦτος οἷός ἐστιν ἔμπειρος, 18 § 304 οἷος ἐγώ, 19 § 254 τοὺς οἷος οὗτος ἄνθρώπους, and (with τοιοῦτος expressed) 21 § 171, 25 §§ 39, 45 ; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 970 ὁ δ' ἕτερος οἷός ἐστιν οἰκουρὸς μόνον, Plato *Soph.* 237 c οἷω γε ἐμοί (= τοιοῦτῳ οἷός γε ἐγώ εἰμί) παντάπασιν ἄπορον, Aristot. *Eth.* ix 3, 4 εἰ . . ἀνὴρ εἴη οἷος κράτιστος. A fuller phrase is found in Xen. *Mem.* iv 8 fin. ἐδόκει τοιοῦτος εἶναι οἷος ἂν εἴη ἄριστος ἀνὴρ.

162. ἀγώνων, 'engagements' (Thuc. ii 89, 5) rather than 'campaigns' (K.) τούτους refers back to εἴ τις, and denotes a class as in 9 §§ 30, 61, Xen. *Mem.* i 2, 62 εἴάν τις followed by τούτοις. μέν resumes the preceding μέν in l. 160, as in 8 § 44. φιλοτιμία, 'from jealousy.'

164. αἶ, 'again,' introducing a new point, 19 § 244, 21 §§ 71, 101.

165. **φιλοτιμίαν** : Acc. after ἀνυπέρβλητον (an Adj. found in [60] § 1, Xen. *Cyrop.* viii 7, 15, Lycurg. 101). Cp. Antiphanes ap. Ath. 105 F ἀνθρωπος ἀνυπέρβλητος εἰς πονηρίαν.

166. ἄλλως, 'otherwise,' does not contrast δίκαιος with σώφρων, but the moral excellence implied in both with the military distinction mentioned above.

167. ἀκράσιαν, 'incontinence,' 'licentiousness.' τοῦ βίου : Philip's manner of life.

Theopompus, of Philip, (a) ap. Athen. 260 B καὶ ὀρχούμενος καὶ κωμάζων καὶ πᾶσαν ἀκολασίαν ὑπομένων, and (b) ap. Polyb. viii 11 ἀκράτεστατον . . πρὸς γυναικάς . . ἐκπαθῇ δέ . . πρὸς τὰς ἀκράτοποσας. Cp. Thirlwall v 169.

κορδακισμούς, 'indecent dances.' In Theophrastus *περὶ ἀπονοίας* the 'reckless man' is 'just the person to dance the *cordax*, sober and without a mask, in a comic chorus' (Jebb). Aristoph. *Nub.* 540.

168. **παρεῶσθαι** : gnomic Perf. as Inf. of indirect discourse, 'is always thrust aside' (Goodwin *MT.* § 160). ἐν οὐδενὸς (neut.) εἶναι μέρει, lit. 'is in the class of nothing,' 'of no account,' = οὐδὲν εἶναι (mss in 21 § 185); Aeschin. 1 § 151 ἐν εὐχῆς μέρει, and § 126 ἐν σκώμματος μ., Dem. 16 § 19 ἐν κατηγορίας μ., 44 § 50 ἐν τεκμηρίου μ., 21 § 166 ἐν εὐεργεσίας μ., 21 § 165 ἐν χάριτος μ. καὶ δωρεᾶς, 20 § 27 ἐν τιμῆς μ., 23 § 56 ἐν ἐχθροῦ μ., ib. § 148 ἐν σφενδονήτου καὶ ψιλοῦ μ., and ἐν ἀδικήματος μ., 3 § 31 ἐν ὑπέρητου καὶ προσθήκης μ., Xen. *Cyrop.* vi 1, 28 ἐν ἀκροβολιστοῦ μ.

§ 19 l. 169. **λοιπούς κτλ.** : not 'the rest about him' (τοὺς λ. τοὺς περὶ αὐτόν), but 'all that remained about him.'

170. **ληστάς**, 'brigands,' 'freebooters,' οἷον εἰ ἄρπαγὰς τινὰς στρατιώτας (schol.), opp. to ἐμπειρος πολέμου l. 161.

Theopompus ap. Athen. 167 c (of Philip's soldiers) οἱ πόλεμοι καὶ αἱ στρατεῖαι καὶ αἱ πολυτέλειαι θρασεῖς αὐτοὺς εἶναι προετρέποντο καὶ ζῆν μὴ κοσμίως, ἀλλ' ἀσώτως καὶ τοῖς λησταῖς παραπλησίως, and 260 F (of Philip's friends) ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ νῆφειν τὸ μεθύειν ἡγάπων, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ κοσμίως ζῆν ἀρπάζειν καὶ φονεῖν ἐξήτουν.

κόλακας κτλ. : opp. to σώφρων ἢ δίκαιος (l. 166), e.g. the Thessalians, Thrasydaeus (Theopompus ap. Athen. 249 c) and Agathocles :—

Athen. 260 A Ἀγαθοκλέα δοῦλον γενόμενον καὶ τῶν ἐκ Θετταλίας πενεστών Φίλιππος, μέγα παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενον διὰ τὴν κολακείαν, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς συμπόσιοις συνὼν αὐτῷ ὥρχειτο καὶ γέλῳτα παρεσκεύαζεν, ἀπέστειλε διαφθεροῦντα Περραιβοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων ἐπιμελησόμενον. τοιοῦτους δ' εἶχεν αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὁ Μακεδών, οἷς διὰ φιλοποσίαν καὶ βωμολοχίαν πλεῖον χρόνον ὥς τὰ πολλὰ συνδιέτριβε καὶ συνήδρευε περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλευόμενος.

171. ὀρχεῖσθαι κτλ. : ref. to κορδακισμούς l. 167. οἱ—
ὀκνῶ—ὀνομάσαι : see note on 54 (*Conon*) § 9, and 18 § 103,
21 § 79, Aeschin. 1 § 55, Cic. *Verr.* II i 32, there quoted.

174. ἀπήλουνον : not publicly 'banished,' but privately
'scouted.' θαυματοποιῶν, 'mountebanks,' 'jugglers';
Plato *Rep.* 514 B, Xen. *Symp.* c. 2, Athen. 19 F, Becker's
Charicles pp. 180, 188 Engl. ed.

175. Καλλίαν ἐκείνον : notorious in his day, but now un-
known. Libanius *Decl. Apol. Dem.* iv 319 describes him as a
son of Phrynon (cp. 19 § 229).

176. δημόσιον : one of the public slaves, employed as under-
clerks or accountants; 8 § 47, 19 § 129, 21 § 70, Aeschin. 1
§ 54 ἄνθρωπος δημόσιος οἰκέτης τῆς πόλεως. μίμους γελοίων,
'antic jesters,' 'players of drolls, mimes, or farces' (K.) Cp.
Athen. 19 F, Becker's *Charicles* p. 107 Engl. ed., and Milton
Samson Agonistes 1325 *Juglers, and dancers, anticks, mummers,*
mimicks.

177. αἰσχροῶν ᾄσμάτων, 'ribald songs.' εἰς τοὺς
συνόντας, 'at the expense of their companions,' or 'the com-
pany'; Xen. *Symp.* I, 15 ἔν' εὐφραίνονται οἱ συνόντες δι' ἐμέ
γελῶντες, and 6, 2.

178. γελασθῆναι : Athen. 614 D mentions a club of jesters
(γελωτοποιοί, cp. Xen. *Symp.* I, 11) at Athens, known as 'the
Sixty,' who were so famous that Philip sent them a talent for
a copy of their jests. Cp. Hypereides κατὰ Φιλιππίδου § 2
[συγ]καθήμενος κα[ὶ] χορὸν ἰστὰς γελωτοπ[οιῶν] ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς
πόλει[s] ἀτυχήμασιν.

§ 20 l. 180. καὶ εἰ, 'even supposing'; εἰ καὶ would mean
'granting that'; cp. Jebb note viii on Soph. *OT.* 305.
μεγάλ(α) . . δείγματα, 'important indications,' 'important as
samples'; 23 § 65 δείγματος εἴνεκα.

181. γνώμης : further defined by κακοδαιμονίας : Isocr. 9
§ 51 τεκμήριον τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῆς ὁσιότητος τῆς ἐκείνου. Other-
wise, the phrase may be a hendiadys, 'of his infatuated spirit'
(HMWilkins).

182. κακοδαιμονίας, 'infatuation,' 8 § 16, 9 § 54; Aristoph.
Plut. 501 μανίαν κακοδαιμονίαν τε, Xen. *Mem.* ii 3, 19 ἀμαθία
καὶ κακοδαιμονία. Cp. 3 § 21 ἄφρων . . ἀτυχής.

κακοδαίμων non solum infelix sed deo invisus, θεοβλαβής, φρενοβλαβής,
ἀτυχής. Est igitur κακοδαιμονία extrema miseria, conditio animi pervers-
sissima, quae homini non ab aliis hominibus neque a se ipso paratur, sed
a genio malo; insaniâ miserior (Voemel ed. 1829). Aeschin. 3 § 133 τὴν γε

θεοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως κτησάμενοι, Lycurg. § 92 οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ οὐδὲν πρότερον ποιοῦσιν ἢ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν διάνοιαν παράγουσι, Trag. Frag. 455 ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνῃ κακά, | τὸν νοῦν ἐβλάψῃ πρῶτον.

τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν : 1 § 27 τοῖς γε σώφροσιν.

183. ἐπισκοτεῖ, 'throws a shade over'; cp. συγκρύψαι l. 184. Isocr. 8 § 10 τὸ πρὸς χάριν ῥηθὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τῷ καθορᾶν ὑμᾶς τὸ βέλτιστον. τὸ κατορθοῦν, 'success' (Goodwin *MT.* § 790); αὐτόν is added in [11] § 13.

184. αἱ εὐπραξίαι : the pl. implies a series of concrete examples of 'prosperity'; cp. εὐπορίαι (5 § 8), περιουσίαι (3 § 33), ὁμίλαι (6 § 21), χάριτες (8 § 53), φιланθρωπίαι (8 § 70), εὖνοιαί (8 § 25). δειναί (εἰσι), 'are very apt,' 1 § 3; with Inf. (as often in the *Characters* of Theophrastus), Goodwin *MT.* § 758. συγκρύψαι κτλ. : Isocr. 6 § 102 αἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐτυχίαι καὶ τοῖς φαύλοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰς κακίας συγκρύπτουσιν, αἱ δὲ δυσπραξίαι τάχως καταφανεῖς ποιοῦσιν, ὅποιοι τινες ἕκαστοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. For the general sense cp. Thuc. iii 39, 4 quoted on 1 § 23.

The text is imitated by Sallust *Or. Lepidi* 24 (10) *secundae res mire sunt vitii obtentu; quibus labefactis, quam formidatus est, tam contemnitur (Sulla).*

185. εἰ δέ τι πταίσει (opp. to κατορθοῦν) : cp. 8 § 42 ἂν ποτε συμβῇ τι πταῖσμα (= [10] § 13), 18 § 286 ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις. αὐτοῦ : part. Gen., 4 § 2 δ . . αὐτῶν.

186. ἐξετασθήσεται : [11] § 13 διακαλυφθήσεται. ἐξετάζειν is combined with ἀκριβῶς in 6 § 37, 20 § 18, 25 § 45, [26] §§ 7, 15; [46] § 17. δοκεῖ . . δείξειν, 'I fancy it will appear'; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 994 δείξειν ἔοικε, *Ran.* 1261 δείξει δὴ τάχα : and (after αὐτό) *Lys.* 377 and Plato *Hipp. Mai.* 288 B δείξει, *Theaet.* 200 E δείξειν, Eur. *Bacch.* 974 σημανεῖ. In such phrases as δείξει 'time will show,' and αὐτὸ δείξει 'experiment will show,' the transitive verb is used absolutely.

187. οὐκ εἰς μακράν : 18 § 36 μετὰ ταῦτα εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν.

188. θέλωσι, 'so will,' 'are willing'; 4 § 7 ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ. καὶ ὑμεῖς βούλησθε, 'and if you determine.' The two verbs are contrasted in [13] § 3 μὴ μόνον . . ἀκούειν ἐθέλοντα ('willing') ἀλλὰ καὶ πράττειν βουλόμενον ('determined'). Cp. 1 § 1. Antiphon 1 § 20 applies ἐθέλειν to gods and men alike, ἐάν ὑμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσιν.

§ 21 l. 188. ὥσπερ . . ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν κτλ. : for this simile from the body, applied to affairs of state, cp. Plato *Rep.* 556 E ὥσπερ σῶμα νοσῶδες μικρὰς ῥοπῆς ἔξωθεν δέχεται προσλαβέσθαι πρὸς τὸ κάμνειν, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἀνευ τῶν ἔξω στασιάζει αὐτὸ αὐτῷ, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἐκείνῳ διακει-

μένη πόλις ἀπὸ σμικρᾶς προφάσεως, ἔξωθεν ἐπαγόμενον ἢ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξ ὀλιγαρχουμένης πόλεως ξυμμαχίαν ἢ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐκ δημοκρατουμένης, νόσει· τε καὶ αὕτη αὕτῃ μάχεται, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἀνευ τῶν ἔξω στασιάζει.

189. **τέως** may be used for **ἔως** according to the evidence of ancient grammarians (schol. on Plato *Hipp.* 334 F, Bekker *Anecd.* 409, 23, and Suidas s.v.) It is the reading of all the mss here, and in 19 § 326, 20 § 91, and of many in 14 § 36, 24 §§ 64, 80, 81, etc. It sometimes serves to prevent either *hiatus* or the accumulation of short syllables.

191. **κινεῖται**, 'are in motion,' 'are set stirring'; *κινεῖν verbum medicorum de omni causa corpus mutante vel interna vel externa* (Voemel ed. 1829).

ῥήγμα, 'a rupture'; **ῥήγμα** μὲν οἱ ἱατροὶ φασιν ἀγγεῖου τινὸς ῥήξιν, οἷον φλεβὸς ἢ ἀρτηρίας (schol.) Hippocrates vi 184 describes ῥήγματα τῶν φλεβῶν καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν as arising from excessive effort, adding τούτων τὰ μὲν παραντῖκα ἔκδηλα (cp. l. 196) γίνεταί, τὰ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἀναφαίνεται.

στρέμμα, 'sprain'; ἄρθρου παράβασιν (schol.)

For the general sense cp. 18 § 198 *πράττεται τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν· ἀφονος Δισχίνης. ἀντέκρουσέ τι . . . πάρεστιν Δισχίνης· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα ('cramp'), ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.*

Lord Brougham (*Works* vii 187) criticises the simile in the text as follows:—'Although the bitter description of Philip's vices, and the profligacy of his court, which immediately precedes this simile, is introduced [by Demosthenes] partly to prove the weakness of his dynasty, and encourage the Athenians with the hope that its days are numbered, yet the digression . . . runs away with him, and the simile is applied *not* to the weakness of Philip, the principal point in discussion, but to the vices, which form the subject of the episode.' In commenting on the parallel passage above quoted, Brougham observes that 'besides the great improvement in the diction and in the more perfect application, it is remarkable how much more bold the simile is here [in 18 § 198] . . . There [2 § 21], it was less adventurously used to illustrate the breaking-out of evils, weaknesses, or vices to the public view, on any reverse, or general blow befalling the state or the individual; here, it is really used in a very strong sense; for the meaning is that Aeschines himself resembles a disease of the state, and breaks out when once general misfortune or malady seizes the body politic' (ib. p. 23).

κἂν . . . σαθρὸν ᾗ, '(whether there be . . .) or any other part of the system be *unsound*'; [11] **κἂν . . . ᾗ μὴ τελέως ὑγιεινόν**, Plato *Laws* 736 E ταύτης σαθρᾶς οὐσης τῆς μεταβάσεως, *Euthyphron* 5 C ὅπῃ σαθρός ἐστι.

195. **ἐπειδὴν — συμπλακῇ**: a metaphor from wrestling; 'when once they are entangled in a frontier war'; 'the tug of a frontier wall betrays all' (K.), or (better) 'the close grapple of a frontier war brings all their defects to light' (HMWilkins). 9 § 51 (of a war in Attica) **συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι**, Aeschin. 2 § 153 **συμπέπλεγμαι . . . ἀνθρῶπῳ**

γόητι, Tac. *Agr.* 36 *complexum armorum*.
 ἔκδηλα : a cretic tetrameter catalectic.

συμπλακῇ—

196. ἔκδηλα : not found elsewhere in Demosthenes ; cp. Hippocr. quoted on l. 191. φανερά is used instead in [11] § 14.

§ 22 l. 198. ταύτη, 'in this respect.' φοβερόν προσπολεμήσαι : Goodwin *MT.* § 763.

200. μεγάλη — πράγματα : 5 § 11, 23 § 113, Aeschin. 2 § 131 (τύχη) ἡ πάντων ἐστὶ κυρία, Plato *Laus* 709 B τύχας εἶναι σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα, Anon. ap. Plut. *de Fortuna* 97 C τύχη τὰ θνητῶν πράγματ', οὐκ εὐβουλία, Alciphron iii 44 p. 372 ἡ τύχη γὰρ παρὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα, Nicostr. ap. Athen. 693 A τύχη τὰ θνητῶν πράγματ', Livy ix 17, Cic. *de Off.* ii 19. ῥοπή, 'preponderance' ; metaphor from the turn of the balance ; cp. 1 § 10 ἀντίρροπον.

τὸ ὅλον : 8 § 76, 18 § 272 εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γε, Plato *Meno* 79 C ἀρετὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὅλον, Polyb. v 25, 5 τὸ δ' ὅλον αὐτοῖς ἦν καὶ τὸ πᾶν Ἀπελλῆς. Cp. 18 § 43 πάντ' ἐκείνος ἦν αὐτοῖς.

ὅλον is inadequately defended by 25 § 32 μᾶλλον δ' ὅλον ἔστ' ἀπόνοια ('utter infatuation') ἡ τούτου πολιτεία, 36 § 33 and 45 § 29 πλάσμα ὅλον ('a thorough fiction'), Xen. *Hell.* v 3, 7 ὅλον ἀμάρτημα ('an utter blunder').

201. παρὰ πάντ(α) : 21 § 101.

203. ἐλοίμην . . ἥ : without μᾶλλον, which is implied in αἰρεῖσθαι : 21 § 26 τίς ἂν ἐτέραν εἴλετο τιμωρίαν ἢ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ;

204. αὐτῶν : emphatic. καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, 'even in a moderate degree,' 'even to a slight extent' ; 19 § 168, Isocr. 3 § 10 τοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ κατὰ μικρόν ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν δυναμένους.

205. ἀφορμάς : lit. 'starting - points' ; hence 'causes,' 'occasions,' or 'original resources' ; here 'primary claims.' Cp. note on 1 § 23 l. 214, also [11] § 16, and for the general sense Thuc. v 104.

206. τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν : 1 § 10 τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων εὐνοίας.

207. ἐνούσας, 'available' ; 6 § 12 τριήρεις ἡμῖν ἐνούσας (οὐσας S).

§ 23 l. 207. οἶμαι, like ἵσως in 1 § 23, tones down the harshness of the statement. καθήμεθ(α) : § 24, 4 § 9.

208. αὐτὸν ἀργοῦντ(α) : sc. τινά : 15 § 25 ἔστ' ἄτοπον περὶ τῶν δικαίων ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν αὐτὸν οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντα.

Aesch. *Frag.* 395 φιλεῖ δὲ τῷ κάμνοντι συσπεύδειν θεός, and *Persae* 742 ἀλλ' ὅταν σπεύδῃ τις αὐτός, χῶ θεὸς συνάπτεται, and Eur. *Frag.* 432 αὐτός τι νῦν δρῶν εἶτα δαίμονας (al. τοὺς θεοὺς) κάλει· τῷ γὰρ πονοῦντι χῶ θεὸς

συλλαμβάνει, Xen. Mem. ii 1, 20, Aesop's fable of 'Hercules and the Carter' (81 Halm) τότε τῷ θεῷ εὐχου, ὅταν καὐτός τι ποιῆς, Sallust Cat. 52 § 29 ubi socordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequidquam deos implores, 'Heaven helps those that help themselves,' 'Help yourself and your friends will help you.'

209. μή τί γε, after *negative*, 'much less,' *nedum*; 19 § 137, 21 § 148, 22 §§ 45, 53; 24 § 165; after *positive*, 'much more,' 8 § 27, 54 § 17 μή τί (GHSchaefer, Blass, *ετι* MSS) γε δή.

210. θαυμαστόν . . εἰ: ll. 215, 217; cp. 4 § 43 θαυμάζω . . εἰ, Goodwin *MT*. § 494.

211. ἐφ' ἅπασι, 'on all occasions.'

212. ὥραν, 'season'; 4 § 31, 8 § 17, 9 § 50.

213. ψηφίζομένων: 3 § 14. πυνθανομένων: 4 § 10.

214. περιγίγνεται, 'gets the better of' us from time to time.

215. εἰ . . περιῆμεν: of continuous action, 'if we were ever holding our own'; Goodwin *MT*. § 496.

§ 24 l. 217. ἐκείνο θαυμάζω, εἰ (cp. ll. 210, 215) Λακ. μὲν . . (223) νυνὶ δ' ὀκνεῖ(ε): it is in the *second* clause that the ground of the orator's wonder is expressed. He is surprised at the *inconsistency* between the past and the present attitude of Athens. In translating we may make the first clause subordinate, beginning with 'while,' or we may introduce the second with 'and yet.'

219. ὑπὲρ—δικαίω, 'for the rights of Greece'; 6 § 10 τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων. See note on 4 § 3 (ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων) —πόλεμον, l. 26. ἀντήρατε: 6 § 5; ἀνταίρειν' ἀνταν-ίστασθαι (Bekk. *Anecd.*)

220. οὐκ ἠθελήσατε after (218) εἰ = ὅτι. Similarly in Lys. 13 § 82 οὐκ εἶα after εἰ = πότερον, ib. 30 § 32 δεινὸν . . δοκεῖ εἶναι . . εἰ . . οὐκ ἐπεχείρησαν. Cp. Cope on Aristot. *Rhet.* i 15, 23 Appendix C.

221. ἴν(α) . . τύχωσι: after the Imperf. we should (according to the usual rule) have expected τύχοιεν. Both moods are combined in 23 § 93 and [49] §§ 14, 81.

In the genuine speeches of Demosthenes ἴνα after *secondary* tenses is followed 14 times by Subj. Pres., 20 times by Subj. Aor., and once by both in the same sentence; also 13 times by Opt. Pres., 13 times by Opt. Aor., and 5 times by both, so that in Demosthenes the Subj. is more frequent than the Opt. (Weber's *Absichtssätze* ii pp. 33 f). Even if we include final clauses after ὅπως, the total for Subj. is 38, for Opt. 37 (ib. p. 36).

223. προεκινδυνεύετε, 'you used to bear the brunt of peril'; 18 § 208, Thuc. i 73. ὀκνεῖτ' ἐξίέναι contrasted

with προεκινδυνεύετε, and μέλλετ' εἰσφέρειν with εἰσφέροντες : chiasmus.

225. σεσώκατε κτλ. : Isocr. *Ep.* 2 (Philip) § 19 (Athens) μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολλάκις ἤδη σέσωκεν.

226. πολλάκις refers not only to πάντας (in allusion to the Persian wars) but also in a still higher degree to καθ' ἐν' αὐτῶν ἐν μέρει (e.g. Euboea 1 § 8, 18 § 99 ; Thebes and Sparta 16 § 14, 23 § 191). αὐτῶν : Gen. after καθ' ἐν' = ἑκαστον, cp. 4 § 20.

ἐν μέρει, 'in turn' ; Aeschin. 2 § 41, 3 § 4, Isocr. 4 §§ 96, 164.

227. κάθησθε : § 23.

§ 25 l. 227. ταῦτα : expressed by Sing. ἐκείνο while still in prospect, l. 217.

229. δύναται : 4 § 39, 8 § 21 ; far stronger than ἐθέλει. λογίσασθαι, 'to reflect,' summing up the result of your actions ; not λογίζεσθαι, 'to calculate.' πόσον . . χρόνον : the war had begun, eight years before, with Philip's capture of Amphipolis in 357 B.C. (Ol. 105, 34).

230. τί ποιοῦντων must be turned into an Ind., 'what you have been doing while . . ' Cp. 4 § 3 ll. 22 f.

232. αὐτῶν : contrasted with ἐτέρους τινάς. ἐτέρους τινάς : οἶον τοὺς ξένους καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Χαρίδημον (schol.) ; 3 § 35, 4 §§ 7, 50 ; 14 § 15. Cp. Thuc. i 161 fin. ἐλπίζόντων πράξειν : the normal construction after ἐλπίζω in Demosthenes. Cp. notes on 4 § 2, 1 § 14.

233. αἰτιωμένων ἀλλήλους κτλ. : *Prooem.* 35 § 3 ἀλλήλων περιγιγνόμενοι καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, πάντ' ἀνηλώκαμεν τὸν χρόνον. κρινόντων : probably a reference to Chares (schol. and Aeschin. 2 § 30) ; cp. § 29 and note on 4 § 47 l. 427.

234. πάλιν ἐλπίζόντων : οἱ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ κρινόμενοι καθυπισχνοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐὰν ἀφεθῶσι, τάσδε καὶ τάσδε τὰς νήσους αὐτοῖς προσκτήσασθαι καὶ τὰδε καὶ τὰδε κατορθῶσαι (schol.)

§ 26 l. 236. ὥστε . . ἐλπίζετε, '(are you so senseless) that you expect.' ὥστε . . ἐλπίζειν, '(so senseless) as to expect,' would express the senselessness of expecting, without necessarily implying that you *do* expect (Goodwin *MT.* § 601).

240. ἔχον . . φύσιν, 'natural' ; used as Adj. to φύσις, just as εὐλογον is the Adj. to λόγος.

ἔχον ἐστὶ φύσιν is here preferred to ἔχει φύσιν for the sake of symmetry with εὐλογον (ἐστὶ). The periphrasis with ἔχον is used where several

predicates are coupled with *ἐστί*, 18 § 13 οὔτε . . ὁρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, 23 § 73 δίκαιον ἢ ὁρθῶς ἐστιν ἔχον. Cp. 3 § 25 σώφρονες ἢ ἐν . . ᾗθει μένοντες. ἔχον ἐστίν is also found by itself in 20 § 18, 21 § 119, 29 § 29, 31 § 11. Cp. 4 § 13 (Westermann).

241. πολὺ — πέφυκεν : constr. πολὺ ῥᾶον πέφυκεν ἔχοντας φυλάττειν ἢ κτήσασθαι πάντα. Cp. *Prooem.* 45 § 3 εἰπεῖν . . πάντα πέφυκε ῥάδιον, πράξαι δ' οὐχ ἅπαντα (so Weil and Blass ; cp. Goodwin *MT.* § 745). Others prefer the constr. πάντα πέφυκεν (οὕτως ὥστε) πολὺ ῥᾶον φυλάττειν ἔχοντας ἢ κτήσασθαι (μὴ ἔχοντας). (So Franke and Westermann.) For the sense cp. *Thuc.* ii 65 αἰσχίον ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἢ κτωμένους ἀτυχῆσαι, *Xen. Cyr.* vii 5, 26, *Anab.* vii 7, 28. For the converse thought see 1 § 23. Both maxims (says Dindorf) are 'equally true of different characters and persons. To some it is easier to acquire than to retain, to others the reverse.'

243. ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου : after passive sense of λοιπόν ἐστι.

244. αὐτῶν : emphatic.

§ 27 l. 245. φημὶ δὴ δεῖν : § 14, 4 § 21, 1 §§ 6, 17 ; sc. ὑμᾶς.

εἰσφέρειν χρήματα : 1 § 20. The scholiasts (assuming that this speech is later than the first Olynthiac) notice that Demosthenes does not venture to repeat his unpopular 'proposal' to apply the 'theoric fund' to the purposes of war (1 §§ 19 f). Hence his former 'proposal' is now only indirectly suggested in *εἰσφέρειν*, (249) τὰς προφάσεις ἀφελεῖν and (250) τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς ἑλλείμματα.

246. αἰτιᾶσθαι : schol. διαβαλλόντων γὰρ τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς στρατηγούς, μετεπέμποντο αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ κρίσιν, καὶ τούτων ἀναχωρησάντων ἔρημα διεφθέρητο τὰ πράγματα. The context, especially ll. 250 8, shows that in this general phrase the orator has a special case in view ; and the scholiast is doubtless right in supposing that Chares is meant (Weil). Cp. § 28.

πρὶν ἂν—κρατήσητε, 'till you have gained your objects,' or 'become masters of the situation.' *Hyper. Epit.* end of col. 5 συνέβη δ' αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν πραγμάτων ὧν προείλετο κρατῆσαι (Blass).

249. τὰς προφάσεις τῶν στρατηγῶν (4 § 25), explained by the following section.

250. ἑλλείμματα, 'defaults.'

251. πικρῶς, 'strictly,' 'severely' ; 22 § 20 εἰς πικρῶς καὶ ἀπλῶς τὰς προφάσεις ἀνέλητε, 45 § 70 π. εἰσέπραξεν.

§ 28 l. 254. πόλεμον : not the Olynthian war, but the whole period of the war with Philip. During that time the operations of Chares in aid of Artabazus had taken place (4 § 24). It is probably Chares whom the speaker has in mind (schol.) This is confirmed by the fact that Lampsacus and Sigeum (l. 263)

were in the region of those operations. It has been suggested that Demosthenes is here virtually defending Chares against attack. He shows a certain partiality for him in 19 § 332 *Χάρης εὐρήσεται πιστῶς καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς . . πρᾶττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν.*

255. *ἐκπέμψητε* : 4 § 26. *ἰδίους* : οὓς αὐτοὶ ποιοῦνται ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως (schol.), 'on their private account.' *εὐρίσκειν*, 'seek out,' 'find out,' and welcome as a godsend.

256. *εἰ δέ* . . *εἰπεῖν* : apologetic, 21 § 112. *τι τῶν ὄντων*, 'something that is true,' 'a few grains of truth' (HMWilkins). Xen. *Αναβ.* iv 4, 10 ἀληθεύσαι τὰ ὄντα τε ὡς ὄντα, καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα.—On the mischievous results of the employment of mercenaries see Thirlwall v 209–15, Grote c. 87 viii 35, Holm iii c. 13 n. 6.

257. *ἐνταῦθα* : in the war with Philip ; opp. to *ἐκεῖ* (261), in the expeditions started by the generals on their own account. *τάθλ(α)—πόλεμος*, 'the prizes of the war.'

258. *Ἀμφίπολις* in emphatic position before *κἂν*. *ἂν* (= *ἐάν*) and *εἰ* are often placed after the emphatic word ; cp. 4 §§ 29, 43 ; 3 § 15 ; note on 20 § 43 (ed. Sandys).

261. *τὰ . . λήμματα*, 'the profits,' corresponding to 'the prizes' of l. 257. Thuc. iii 38, 3 ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐκ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων τὰ μὲν ἄθλα ἐτέροις δίδωσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους ἀναφέρει.

263. *Λάμψακος, Σίγειον* : on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, at its NE. and SW. extremities respectively. Theopompus ap. Athen. 532 B states that Sigeum was a favourite residence of Chares. He had probably taken possession of both towns on his own account in 356 B.C. (cp. Corn. Nepos *Chabrias* 3, ASchaefer i 171, 2, ii 54, 5). Charidemus similarly occupied Scepsis, Cebren, and Ilium (23 § 154). *τὰ πλοῖ' ἁ*

συλῶσιν : in 8 § 24 the inhabitants of Chios, Erythrae, and the coast of Asia Minor are described as regularly offering 'benevolences' to the Athenian generals to save their vessels from being plundered. Athenian privateers are mentioned in 21 § 173, 24 § 12, 51 § 13 ; and the piracies of the subordinates of Chares are noticed in Aeschin. 2 § 71 *κατῆγον δὲ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς θαλάττης. ἀντὶ δ' ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν τῆς Μυοννήσου καὶ τῆς τῶν ληστῶν δόξης ἀνεπίμπλατο.* *ἐπ(ι)* . . *τὸ λυσιτελοῦν* . . *χωροῦσιν*, 'turn to' ; Lys. 31 § 6 *παρέντες τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐαυτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος ἔλθοιεν.*

264. *ἕκαστοι οἱ στρατηγοί*, 8 § 24.

§ 29 l. 265. *ἀποβλέψητε* : 3 § 1, Aeschin. 3 § 168 *ἂν* . . *πρὸς τὴν εὐφημίαν αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀποβλέπητε.*

267. δόντες λόγον, 'having granted a hearing,' § 31 ; 20 § 167, 24 § 65. Elsewhere, of 'rendering an account,' τὰς ἀνάγκας, 'difficulties,' pl. in 4 §§ 24, 25. ταύτας : ref. to l. 260 μισθὸς δ' οὐκ ἔστιν.

268. περίεστι, 'the result is.' ἐρίζειν καὶ διεστάναι : cp. 4 § 3 l. 27.

270. πρότερον . . κατὰ συμμορίας εἰσεφέρετε, 'formerly you had boards for taxes' (K.), 'you used to pay the extraordinary war-tax by companies.' Demosthenes is comparing the organisation of the two parties in the Assembly with the organisation for the payment of the war-tax. At the head of each party was an orator, and, subordinate to him, a general, whose acts were defended by the orator in the Assembly. The orator and the general are compared to the ἡγεμῶν and ἐπιμελητής, or 'chairman' and 'superintendent' respectively, of each of the numerous groups of citizens which formed what was known as a συμμορία for the purposes of the war-tax. The Assembly as a whole is regarded as divided into two vast συμμορίαι. Attached to the orator and general, and roughly corresponding to the 300 wealthiest citizens in the arrangements for the war-tax, was a body of partisans who applauded the speeches of the leaders of their party. The rest of the citizens were attached to the one set or the other, like the ordinary members of the Symmories, without voice or influence in the direction of affairs (cp. Heslop). πρότερον does not imply that this organisation of the war-tax had been abolished, but only that the state had for some time past given up levying a tax which weighed heavily on a majority of the citizens.

By an arrangement dating from the archonship of Nausinicus (378-7 B.C.) the citizens, who were all bound to pay the war-tax, were divided into a number of συμμορίαι, or boards, each representing an approximately equal part of the entire wealth of the state. The distribution of the citizens into συμμορίαι was managed by the στρατηγοί (39 § 8). The war-tax was levied on a graduated scale, which was highest for the wealthiest citizens, who were placed in the first class, and was lower in proportion for the three other classes. The 300 wealthiest citizens formed the first of the four classes (Isaëus 6 § 60). These assessment-classes correspond to the four τέλη of the Solonian constitution, and must not be confounded with the συμμορίαι or boards formed for organising the payment of the war-tax. In the case of the war-tax the number of the συμμορίαι, and the number of citizens in each, is unknown.

When a war-tax was decreed by the Ecclesia, the amount required was first apportioned among the various Symmories. Each Symmory then drew up a list, in which the payments demanded of each member of the Symmory were calculated according to the assessment of that person's property (Harpoer. s.v. διάγραμμα). The war-tax was collected in accordance with these lists, and, for some time after the archonship of Nausinicus (378-7 B.C.), this was done directly by the state (22 § 54, 24 § 166, Lys. 29 § 9). In 362-1 B.C. we find the earliest mention of a plan

for facilitating the collection of the tax. In that year the Council are described as drawing up a list of citizens who are required to pay the tax in advance for the members of the same deme ([50] § 8). This plan was, however, soon abandoned in favour of one by which the tax was paid in advance by the 300 wealthiest citizens ([42] § 25), who afterwards recovered the sums due from the poorer members ([50] § 9).

In 357-6, by the decree of Periander, the system of Symmories was further applied to the trierarchy ([47] §§ 21, 44). The 1200 wealthiest citizens in the Symmories for the war-tax were then divided into 20 Symmories of 60 members each for the purposes of the trierarchy (14 § 17, 21 § 155). Each Symmory represented an approximately equal part of the total assessed wealth of the 1200; and the 300 wealthiest citizens were distributed equally among the 20 Symmories, 15 in each (Dinarchus 1 § 42, Hyper. ap. Harpocr. s.v. *συμμορία*). In the Symmories for the trierarchy, as in those for the war-tax, the wealthiest member of each Symmory was called the *ἡγεμών* (18 §§ 102, 312). Corresponding to the 20 *ἡγεμόνες*, but subordinate to them, were the 20 *ἐπιμεληταί* ([47] §§ 21, 22, 24), who aided the *στρατηγοί* in apportioning the duties of the trierarchy among the members of the Symmories. As it was the wealthiest members in each Symmory who made all the arrangements and apportioned the services required of each individual, these wealthy individuals soon began to arrange the burdens in such a way that they themselves escaped payment as far as possible (18 §§ 102 f, 21 § 155). To remove this abuse Demosthenes, who had proposed a scheme of reform as early as 354 B.C. (14 §§ 16 f), carried a law in 340-39 which, while leaving the Symmories intact, ensured that the trierarchic burdens imposed on every individual should be in strict accordance with his assessment. The equipment of two ships was now fixed as the maximum duty that could be demanded of any one. Any one whose resources were not equal to equipping even a single ship had to share the duty with others in proportion to his own wealth (Gilbert pp. 368-74 Engl. ed.) Cp. Boeckh *Publ. Econ. bk. iv c. 9 p. 678* Lamb, Sauppe *Ep. ad Hermannum* pp. 129-31 (= *Ausgew. Schriften* pp. 165 f), ASchaefer ii 1362 n.

273. **ρήτωρ . . στρατηγός**: Aeschin. 3 § 7 (the generals) *συνηγροούντες τισι τῶν ῥητόρων λυμαινονται τὴν πολιτείαν*, Plut. *de amore fraterno* 486 D *συνεργοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις μᾶλλον, ὡς Δημοσθένης καὶ Χάρης, καὶ πάλιν Αἰσχίνης <καὶ Φωκίων>, καὶ Εὐβούλος <καὶ Διοπεύθης>, καὶ Ὑπερείδης καὶ Λεωσθένης, οἱ μὲν λέγοντες ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ γράφοντες, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοῦντες καὶ πράττοντες*, Phocion 7, and *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 3. (The generals Diopeithes and Chares and the politician Aristophon are named in 8 § 30; the politicians Callistratus, Aristophon and Diophantus in 18 § 297; Diophantus and Eubulus in 20 § 137; while Eubulus and Aristophon are opposed to one another in 20 § 137.) Isocr. *de Pace* § 54, Thirlwall v 243.

274. **βοησόμενοι** 'ut adiectivum inter articulum et suum substantivum positum est, ut una notio comprehendatur' (Voemel ed. 1857). (οἱ) **τριάκοσιοι** = οἱ πλουσιώτατοι in 18 § 171, = οἱ προεισφέροντες in [42] § 25; also mentioned in Aeschin. 3 § 222, Dinarchus 1 § 42, and Hyper. ap. Harpocr. s.v. *συμμορία*. In the text the article, which is inserted in only two or three inferior mss, is preferred by Halm (*Bemerkungen* 696); if inserted, it must be preceded by a pause (to prevent *hiatus*). Voemel appears to regard the 300 as acting as a united body on one side only. In [13] § 20 *τριάκοσιοι* is omitted, but the sense is rightly given by the substitution of *μεθ' ἑκατέρων*. The comparison is very imperfect, but it

seems clear that noisy partisans on *both* sides are roughly compared to the 300 simply because the former are the first to shout, and the latter the first to pay.

275. προσενέμῃσθε, 'attach yourselves.' ὥς τούτους : 15 § 26 πόλιν ὑμετέραν ποτὲ σύμμαχον οὖσαν ὥς αὐτοὺς συντελεῖ ποιεῖν (Rehdantz *Index* 2 ὥς).

§ 30 l. 276. ἐπανέντας : 18 § 177 (φημὶ δεῖν) τὸν παρόντ' ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, the only other passage in Demosthenes. ὑμῶν αὐτῶν . . γενομένων, 'having become your own masters,' 4 § 7; *Prooem.* 49 § 2 ταῦθ' ὅταν ποτὲ βούλησθ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ὄντες ἀκούειν.

277. κοινόν, 'open to all'; Thuc. ii. 39, 1, Plato *Meno* 91 B.

279. τοῖς μέν : the ῥήτωρ and στρατηγός as party-leaders.

280. ὑμῶν depends on τυραννίδος, 18 § 66 τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπιτάττειν : appropriate to a 'tyranny,' under which πάντ' ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος . . γίγνεται (19 § 185).

ἀποδώσετε : quasi debitum iis permittetis (Sauppe); cp. 1 § 19.

τοῖς δ(ε) : especially the middle classes, who had to bear the burden of the trierarchy. ἀναγκάζεσθαι : disputes as to the trierarchy and the war-tax were settled by the court of the στρατηγοί (cp. Aristot. *Const. of Athens* 61 § 1); their power might be abused, Aristoph. *Eq.* 1369, *Pax* 1179, *Lys. Or.* 9 and 25 § 16 (Heslop).

281. τριηραρχεῖν, 'to equip a trireme.' This duty admitted of very few cases of exemption. In 357-6 B.C. the system of συμμορίαι had been extended (with some modifications) to the trierarchy. For details see note on line 270. εἰσφέρειν, 'to pay the war-tax' (Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* pp. 364 f).

τοῖς δέ : the general body of citizens who have only the power of voting against those just mentioned.

284. τὸ—μέρος : the particular body of citizens which is unfairly burdened, 'the class aggrieved for the time being.'

285. ἂν ἁπλοῦται, 'will fail,' 'will be in default.'

286. ἐξέσται : ironical. The difficulties described in the text led to the speaker's own reform of the trierarchy in 340 B.C. See 18 § 102-, especially 108 ἐν πένησιν ἢ τριηραρχία· πολλὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαινεν. See end of note on l. 270.

§ 31 l. 286. λέγω = κελεύω. δῆ : as in φημὶ δῆ (§ 27).

κεφάλαιον (18 § 213) = ἐν κεφαλαίῳ (8 § 76), ἐνὶ δὲ κεφαλαίῳ (20 § 78). πάντας εἰσφέρειν κτλ. : Demosthenes urges that, instead of allowing the war-tax to press heavily on

the rich under the graduated system of taxation then in force, they should levy the tax equitably on all the citizens alike (Weil). *Queritur Athenienses εισφορὰν sibi omnibus irrogare nolle, ἐπιδόσεις et λητουργίας ab opulentis flagitari, a plerisque nihil conferri* (Sauppe).

It has also been suggested that possibly, as in the trierarchic *συμμορίαί* (18 § 102), abuses may have crept in, and the rich may have shirked their duties at the cost of the middle classes (EMüller; cp. Boeckh *Publ. Econ.* bk. iv c. 9 end). ASchaefer (ii 137²) sees in the text a proposal for a reform of the war-tax, similar to the speaker's later reform of the trierarchy, and holds that Demosthenes must have drawn up a definite and complete scheme for that purpose. It is not necessary, however, to regard the text as implying anything more than a simple exhortation to all classes to do their duty honestly under the existing system of taxation (Hartel *Dem. Anträge* p. 535).

288. *ἐξιέναι κατὰ μέρος*: apparently on the short-service system proposed in 4 § 21 *ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις*.

289. *τοῖς παριοῦσι*: [13] § 14; *ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα*, Aeschin. 3 §§ 145, 159. See note on 1 § 8 l. 64.

290. *ὁ δεῖν ἢ ὁ δεῖν(α)*: the orators who were the leaders of their respective parties. As noted by the schol., the reference is mainly to Eubulus (*πρὸς τὸν Εὐβουλον ἀποτείνεται τὸν πολιτευόμενον*), the leader of the party then in power. In the deliberative speeches Demosthenes never names his opponents; to do so would have doubtless been considered 'unparliamentary.' The orator's plea for 'giving every speaker a hearing' clearly shows that, for the present, he had not attained a position of commanding influence; in fact, that he was only gradually securing a hearing.

293. *τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων*, 'the public interests' or 'the state as a whole.' *βέλτιον . . ἐχόντων*: here, as elsewhere (see note at end of *Or.* 4), the last words are words of good omen.

NOTES ON THE

THIRD OLYNTHIAC (OR. III)

§ 11. 1. οὐχὶ ταῦτ᾽α—δέον: the opening words find a parallel in *Prooem.* 2 οὐχὶ ταῦτ᾽α γινώσκειν ὧ ἄ. Ἀθ. παρίσταται μοι. The whole passage is parodied by Lucian *Bis Accusatus* c. 26, and imitated by Sallust *Cat.* 52 § 2 *longe mihi alia mens est, P. C., cum res atque pericula nostra considero, et cum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo; illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena, res autem monet cavere etc.*

παρίσταται μοι, 'it occurs to me,' 6 § 6. The corresponding Act. is found in 4 § 17.

2. πράγματ(α) and (3) λόγους are taken up in converse order by (4) λόγους and (5) πράγματ(α); cp. § 13, 6 §§ 4, 32; 8 § 66, 9 § 61.

3. ἀποβλέψω: § 29, 2 § 29; here followed by εἰς varied with πρός, as in Aeschin. 3 § 168; cp. 6 § 35.

4. περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φ.: Goodwin *MT.* § 800 p. 197.

5. ὁρῶ with Part., 6 § 1, 8 § 67, 9 § 3. τὰ . . πράγματ' εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα: § 3 l. 33 εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθεν—τὰ παρόντα.

6. ὅπως μὴ πεισόμεθ(α) . . σκέψασθαι: the ordinary Fut. Ind. with ὅπως in *object clauses*, Goodwin *MT.* § 339; cp. 1. 16 and note on 1 § 2 l. 19.

7. πεισόμεθ(α): constructed with κακῶς, though separated from it, possibly to emphasise both words, *Prooem.* 52 ἀγαπητὸν . . , ἂν ὅπως μὴ πείσεσθε κακῶς δύνησθε φυλάττεσθαι.

8. δέον: after ὥστε, attracted into the participial construction (after ὁρῶ) in the principal clause; [10] § 40 οὐδὲ . . ὁρῶ . . οὕτω διακείμενον . . ὥστε . . οὐ φάσκοντα, [61] § 3, Isocr. 4 § 64, Isaeus 9 § 16, Xen. *Cyr.* vii 5, 46 (Goodwin

MT. § 607 *a*; for other explanations cp. Rehdantz *Index* 2 s.v. *Participium*). οὐδὲν . . ἄλλο . . ἢ: *nil aliud quam*; hence the frequent formula οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ([7] §§ 7, 18; 8 § 73), and the cognate phrase τί ἄλλ' ἢ; We may either supply ποιεῖν (expressed in 8 §§ 10, 27, and 9 § 2), or regard οὐδὲν ἄλλο as used absolutely (like ταῦτό τοῦτο, δυοῖν θάτερον). Cp. 29 § 11 ὡγήθην δεῖν μηδὲν ἄλλο τούτου πρότερον ἢ τοῦτον προκαλούμενος ἐλέγξαι, 45 § 23 τί ἄλλ' ἢ σφῶν αὐτῶν κατήγοροι γεγόνασιν ὅτι ψεύδονται;

9. τὴν ὑπόθεσιν—παριστάντες, 'in not laying before you the true subject of debate,' i.e. a view of the real state of affairs, which may serve as a point of departure for your deliberations; cp. l. 19 ὑποθέσθαι, and 19 § 242 τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως. ὑπόθεσιν is best regarded as Acc. after παριστάντες, the circumstantial participle denoting manner (Goodwin *MT.* § 836), and not after ἀμαρτάνειν. The latter construction would make it necessary to understand ὑπόθεσιν after the Participle.

§ 2 l. 13. καὶ μάλ' ἀκριβῶς οἶδα, 'I know well enough' ('only too well'); 8 § 48 καὶ μάλ' ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ. ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, 'in my own time,' while Athens still held Amphipolis, Poteidaea etc.; §§ 21, 23 ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων. οὐχί: emphatic before πάλαι, 'not in a former generation'; whereas οὐ πάλαι might be understood as 'not long ago,' 'recently.'

14. γέγονεν: not 'have happened,' but (influenced by ἐξήν) 'have been possible.' πέπεισμαι, 'I have been persuaded,' 'am convinced,' Pres. Perf.

15. τοῦθ'—εἶναι: constr. εἶναι ἱκανὸν ἡμῖν προλαβεῖν τοῦτο. προλαβεῖν: to secure in anticipation of our opponents, as in [7] § 9, 18 § 224. τὴν πρώτην, 'in the first instance'; 4 § 23, 3 § 21 τὴν ἄλλως.

16. ὅπως—σώσομεν: Fut. Ind. with ὅπως in *object clause* explaining τοῦθ', the object of προλαβεῖν; cp. § 1 l. 6.

17. περὶ τοῦ—τρόπον, 'the question of the *object* and the *means* of one's (i.e. our) revenge.' The article turns the question into a substantival clause; cp. 9 § 7, 18 § 1, 37 § 46; Thuc. iv 63, 3 περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσθαι τινα. τίνα . . καὶ δὴν τρόπον: for the combination of the interrogative and the relative cp. 4 § 33 ἃ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, Thuc. i 137 . . ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' ἃ φεύγει, Isocr. 1 § 5 . . ὧν χρῆ . . ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ τίνων ἔργων ἀπέχεσθαι, followed by ποίοις τισὶν and πῶς, Aeschin. 1 § 9 ἀποδείκνυσι πρῶτον μὲν ἦν ὦραν προσήκει λέναι . . ἔπειτα μετὰ πόσων καὶ πηνίκα. The relative is sometimes used for the interrogative in dependent questions, e.g.

1 § 21 l. 189, 22 § 72 οὐκ εὐδηλον δι' αὐτοῦτ' ἐποίησας; *Prooem.* 5 ὁρῶ . . πρόδηλον ὃν οὐς . ., Isocr. 13 § 22 ἐξ ὧνπερ αὐτὸς ἐπέισθην οὕτω ταύτ' ἔχειν, ῥαδίως οἶμαι . . φανερόν καταστήσειν (*Karlowa Progr.* 1883 pp. 15 f).

18. πρὶν—ὑποθέσθαι: 2 § 10, 'before we lay the foundation aright'; Eur. *HF.* 126 ὅταν δὲ κρηπίς μὴ καταβληθῇ γένους | ὀρθῶς.

20. τελευτῆς: the crowning consummation of revenge on Philip. ὄντινούν ποιείσθαι λόγον, 'to say a single word'; ποιείσθαι λόγον 20 §§ 58, 99; 29 § 13, 33 § 26 (of litigation), 54 §§ 6, 7 ('to take account of'). Here=λέγειν ὅτιούν. 'Any verb in Greek may be resolved into the cognate substantive with ποιείσθαι' (Shilleto on *FL.* § 104 p. 370), cp. Cobet *NL.* 257, and Index to Marchant's *Thuc.* ii.

§ 3 l. 21. *Second Prooemium.* ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρός: 1 § 2. εἴπερ (τις) ποτέ=εἴπερ τις ἄλλος: 1 § 6 εἴπερ ποτέ καὶ νῦν.

22. φροντίδος καὶ βουλῆς: for the collocation of synonyms cp. 4 § 3.

24. ἐκεῖν(ο) ἀπορῶ: 2 § 24 ἐκεῖνο θανμάζω.

26. <καὶ> παρὼν καὶ ἀκούων, 'whether as an eye-witness' (of contemporary events) 'or by hearsay' (of the events of the past). The order of time is best represented by an inversion:—'both by hearsay and experience' (K.)

27. σύννοιδα, 'I have learnt (like others)': absol. as in 20 § 13; contrasted with ἀκοή in *Thuc.* i 73, 2. τῶν πραγμάτων, 'our interests,' 5 § 2. ἐκπεφευγέναι: metaphor from the chase, as in 5 § 27, 14 § 15, 18 § 33.

28. τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι κτλ.: 15 § 1, 23 § 145, Cic. *de Sen.* 64 *Athenienses scire quae recta essent, sed facere nolle.*

29. μετὰ παρρησίας: see note on 4 § 51 l. 462 πεπαρησιασμαι.

30. ποιῶμαι τοὺς λόγους: l. 20.

31. διὰ τοῦ(το): sc. λέγω rather than ὑπομένειν. διὰ with Acc. denotes not only the cause or motive ('owing to'), but also the end (either the consequence or, as here, the purpose). Shilleto on *FL.* § 291 p. 423. ἵνα . . γένηται: note on 2 § 24 l. 221.

32. ὁρᾶτε—παρόντα: *Prooem.* 1 § 3 ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὥς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἐλπιδῶν καὶ λόγων εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθε μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα. ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν δημηγορεῖν (Goodwin *MT.* p. 197 § 800): cp. § 22, 4 § 38 (= *Prooem.* 1 § 3), *Prooem.*

12 § 1, Aeschin. 3 § 127 τάληθές ἐρά· τὸ γὰρ αἰεὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενον οὕτωςι τήν . . πόλιν διατέθεικεν κτλ.

33. εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθεν κτλ. : see note on 4 § 47 εἰς τοῦθ' ἡκει τὰ πράγματ' αἰσχύνῃς, and cp. 6 § 2 εἰς τοῦτ' ἤδη προηγμένα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ πράγματα, 9 § 2 εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματ' ἀφίκται. In such phrases the subject is more frequently a *person*, as in 22 § 16; cp. Thuc. vii 55 ἐν παντὶ δὴ ἀθυμίας ἦσαν.

34. τὰ παρόντα : somewhat peculiarly combined with προελήλυθεν. The sense is well brought out by Heslop:—'our affairs have *gone* from bad to worse, till *now* they are in an utterly wretched condition.'

§ 4 l. 35. μικρά (= ὀλίγα, as in § 14 and 5 § 4) : sometimes taken adverbially (leaving τῶν γεγενημένων to serve as Gen. after ὑπομνήσαι), but better coupled with τῶν γεγενημένων, cp. 5 § 4.

36. ὑπομνήσαι governs two accusatives in 24 § 15 ἀναγκή δὲ πρῶτον ὑπομνήσαι τοὺς χρόνους ὑμᾶς, cp. 18 § 17. μέμνησθ(ε) . . ὅτ(ε) : *meministis cum*.

38. τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τουτί : 21 § 13 τρίτον ἔτος τουτί, 54 § 3 ἔτος τουτί τρίτον. Acc. of duration of time as in 8 § 2 ἐνδέκατον μῆνα τουτονί, and Aeschin. 3 § 77 ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν. The sense is not 'three or four years ago,' but 'in the third or fourth year since,' whereby a shorter interval of time is indicated.

'Third or fourth year' is not intended to be a vague date; on the contrary it is particularly precise. The present speech must have been delivered before Nov. 349 (Ol. 107, 4). At that time less than three years had elapsed since the capture of Ἡραῖον τεῖχος in Nov. 352 (Ol. 107, 1); hence the phrase τρίτον ἔτος τουτί. Again, since that event, the fourth of the four civil years, Ol. 107, 1, 2, 3, 4, had begun, i.e. the year designated by the fourth of the four archons, Aristodemus, Theellus, Apollodorus, and Callimachus; hence the addition of the words ἢ τέταρτον (Westermann and Weil). Similarly, in Oct. 1896 we might say of an event of Nov. 1893 that it was now 'the third (civil) year' since it happened; at the same time it would be equally true that four Academical years had begun, and Oct. 1896 would be in 'the fourth (Academical) year' from the event in question.

Ἡραῖον τεῖχος : a Thracian fortress captured by Philip in 352 B.C. (Ol. 107, 1) during the expedition mentioned in 1 § 13 ὥχρετ' εἰς Θράκην. It is usually identified with Ἡραῖον, described by Herod. iv 90 as a πόλις near Perinthus on the Propontis (or *Sea of Marmora*). As Perinthus was a colony of Samos, the neighbouring Ἡραῖον apparently owed its name to the Samians, whose tutelary deity was Hera.

‘*Ἡραῖον τεῖχος* is not quite the same as *Ἡραῖον*, nor was the latter place near to the Chersonese; nor would Philip be yet in a condition to provoke or menace so powerful a city as Perinthus—though he did so ten years afterwards (Diodor. xvi 74). I cannot think that we know where *Ἡραῖον τεῖχος* was situated, except that it was in Thrace, and near the Chersonese’ (Grote c 87 viii 58).

39. *πολιορκῶν* after *ἀπηγγέλθη*: Xen. *Hell.* vii 5, 10 *ἐξήγγειλε προσὶν τὸ στράτευμα* (Goodwin *MT.* § 904).

40. *μαιμακτηριῶν*: Nov. 352 B.C. *πολλῶν—ὑμῖν*: the Ionic rhythm of this passage is noticed by Longinus *Frag.* 3, 4 (Proleg. to Hephaestion). *θορύβου*: Aeschin. 2 § 72 *πλείους δὲ ἐκκλησίας . . ἡναγκάζεσθε ἐκκλησιάσειν μετὰ φόβου καὶ θορύβου* (c. 353 B.C.), Plato *Rep.* 492 B *ξὺν πολλῷ θορύβῳ* (of *ἐκκλησίαι* etc.)

41. *γιννομένου*: Impf. Part., agreeing with the nearer noun in *λόγων καὶ θορύβου*, as in 19 § 42 *λόγων καὶ λοιδορίας γενομένης*, and *ib.* 75.

42. *τριήρεις καθέλκειν κτλ.*: *Prooem.* 21 § 2 *ψηφιῖσθε . . καθέλκειν τριήρεις, ἐμβαίνειν, εἰσφέρειν*, 8 § 74 *οὐ κατέλξετε τὰς ναῦς*; [17] § 20, [50] §§ 4, 6; [51] § 4. *τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ τεττάρκοντ’ ἐτῶν*: as the age for liability to military service *abroad* extended over 40 years, from the age of 20 to that of 60 (the years from 18 to 20 being spent in military service in Attica), the text implies that the men enrolled in 25 out of the 40 ‘years’ were called out. This proportion is extraordinarily large, especially as only 40 triremes are mentioned. In the Phocian war Athens decreed *τοὺς μέχρι τριάκοντ’ ἔτη γεγονότας ἐξιέναι*, and the number of triremes was 50 (Aeschin. 2 § 133). It is therefore suspected that in the text *τεττάρκοντα* has been repeated by mistake from the previous clause, and that some smaller number such as *τριάκοντα* is intended (Westermann).

43. *αὐτοὺς ἐμβαίνειν*: a resolution not necessarily due to any eagerness for personal service (such as Demosthenes afterwards urged in *Phil.* i and *Ol.* i), but probably arising from there being no time to secure the services of others to man the ships.

§ 5 l. 44. *μετὰ ταῦτα κτλ.*: Aeschin. 3 § 62 *μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπήγει χρόνος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀρχῶν· ἐνταῦθα κτλ.*

45. *τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου*: *Ol.* 107, 1 (a year with an intercalary month) beginning on 3rd July 352 B.C. and ending on 21st July 351 B.C. (Ideler quoted by Voemel ed. 1829 p. 114).

ἐκατομβαιῶν, μεταγετινῶν, βοηδρομιῶν (sc. *ῆσαν*): the first three months of the Attic year, extending in 351 B.C. from 22nd July to 18th Oct.

46. **μόγισ**, 'reluctantly'; we may assume a pause in delivery before this word, as also before **δέκα ναῦς**, 'only 10 vessels' instead of 40. **τὰ μυστήρια**: the Eleusinian mysteries, celebrated between the 14th, 15th, or 16th, and the 27th day of the month Boëdromion (Oct.) Thus the Athenians waited nearly a year before sending succours, and even those they ultimately sent were miserably inadequate.

47. **ναῦς** . . **κενός**: explained in one MS by **πολιτικῆς βοήθειας**: 4 § 43 **τρίηρεις κενός**, Thuc. vi 31. The emphasis falls on **δέκα** and **κενός** and **πέντε** (instead of 60). Grote c. 87 viii 59.

48. **Χαρίδημον**: Charidemus of Ὀρεός, in N. of Euboea, was originally a commander of mercenaries who served under Iphicrates in the expedition against Amphipolis in 368-5 B.C. He was entrusted with the care of certain hostages, but, instead of sending them to Athens, he restored them to Amphipolis. He thereupon took service under Cotys (chief of the Thracian tribe of Odrysae), who was at that time at enmity with Athens. In 360 B.C., after engaging to join the Olynthians in defending Amphipolis against Timotheus, he was captured by the Athenians and compelled to aid them against Olynthus. On the failure of these operations on the part of Timotheus, he served in Asia Minor in the cause of Artabazus, to whom he proved false. He next appealed to Athens, promising to aid her in recovering the Chersonesus; but, on returning to Europe, he broke this promise and entered the service of Cotys, whose daughter he married. On the murder of Cotys (358) he supported his son Cersobleptes in his struggle with Athens for the possession of the Chersonesus. Ultimately he was forced to ratify a treaty ceding the Chersonesus to Athens, and for this service he was actually presented with the Athenian citizenship (357). In 352, notwithstanding the protest delivered by a client of Demosthenes in the *Speech against Aristocrates*, his person was declared inviolable, and in 351 he was sent on the abortive expedition described in the text. On the recall of Chares in 349 he was appointed by the Athenians as commander in the war for the defence of Olynthus. He joined the Olynthians in ravaging Pellene and Bottiaea (then in the hands of Philip), but gave such offence by his insolence at Olynthus that he was superseded by Chares. His earlier adventures are described in the *Speech against Aristocrates*. After the battle of Chaeroneia (338) he was elected a **στρατηγός** of Athens. He was the first to bring news of the death of Philip (336). His surrender was demanded by Alexander in 335. Finally he deserted to Darius and gave him advice as to the invasion of Greece, which led to his being falsely suspected of treachery and to his being put to death.

49. **ἡγγέλθη ἀσθενῶν** (cp. l. 37 **ἀπηγγέλθη** . . **πολιορκῶν**): the rumour was founded on fact, 4 § 11, 1 § 13. **ἦλθε**: of the arrival of news, Thuc. i 61, 1, iii 33, 1, viii 96, 1 (cp. vi 104, 1 **ἀγγελίαι ἐφόρων**).

50. **οὐκέτι**—**νομίσαντες**: Thuc. v 13 **νομίσαντες οὐδένα καιρὸν εἶναι ἔτι**. **καιρὸν** . . **τοῦ βοηθεῖν**, 'occasion for sending succours.'

51. **ἀφείτ(ε)**: Aor., 'discontinued' the expedition at the critical moment. On the arrival of fresh news, Charidemus

was ultimately despatched. ἀπόστολον (cp. στόλος): especially of a *ναυαῖ* expedition.

52. ὁ καιρὸς αὐτός, 'the very opportunity,' reminds the hearer of ὁ παρῶν καιρὸς in § 3, brought home to him again in § 6 ἑτέρου πολέμου καιρὸς τις.

54. ἐνώχλει: ἡνώχλουν is quoted from Xen. *Cyr.* v 3, 56; ἡνώχλησα ib. § 3, Dem. 21 § 15; ἡνωχλείτο Aeschin. 3 § 44. But the single augment is the reading of S, here and in 35 § 30; it is also found in Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* 11 § 1 ἐνώχλουν. Possibly it was only the double compound παρ-ενοχλῶ that had the double augment (18 § 50 παρ-ἡνώχλησθε). Cp. ἀνορθῶ, ἀνώρθουν: ἐπ-ανορθῶ, ἐπ-ἡνώρθουν or (better) ἐπ-ἡνóρθουν (Rehdantz-Blass p. 182⁸; cp. Rutherford *New Phrynicus* pp. 83-7).

§ 6 l. 56. οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔχοι: preceded by τὰ μὲν παρεληλυθότα in *Prooem.* 30 and by ταῦτα μὲν ib. 41; cp. Isocr. 12 § 22, Plato *Protag.* 324 B.

58. ἵνα μὴ . . . πάθῃτε: after ἐμνήσθην, 'mentioned a moment ago.' The speaker's *purpose* still remains the same, and the Subj. is used just as if the principal verb had been Present; 19 § 1 ταύτας ἵνα κωλύθῃ, οἱ νόμοι συνήγαγον ὑμᾶς, οὐχ ἵνα κυρίας τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι ποιῇτε (Goodwin *MT.* § 318). The Subj. is also found in 2 § 24, but the explanation there would be somewhat different (see note). τί . . . χρῆσόμεθα(α) . . . τούτῳ; 'what use shall we make of it?' 'how shall we deal with it?' 4 § 33. (59) γάρ refers to the unexpressed but obvious answer to the previous question, 'Send aid, of course.'

59. εἰ . . . μὴ βοηθήσετε παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, 'if you do not send succours *with might and main* to the best of your power.'

σθένος is a poetic and archaic word, never found in the Greek of Demosthenes, who uses instead the synonyms *ισχύς* (seven times, e.g. l. 299), and *δύναμις* (very often). Thucydides himself uses *σθένος* only once, i 86, 2 τιμωρητέα ἐν τάχει καὶ παντὶ σθένει. παντὶ σθένει is in fact the only phrase in which *σθένος* survives in prose, e.g. Plato *Laws* 646 A φεύγειν παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, 854 B εὐλαβεῖσθαι χρεῶν παντὶ σθένει, Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 4 § 5 ἀρήξουσιν τῇ πόλει παντὶ σθένει, *Cyr.* vi 1, 42 ἤττον ἂν παντὶ σθένει ἀθροίζοντο, viii 5, 25 συνθέσθαι . . . βοηθήσειν παντὶ σθένει, *Hell.* vi 5, 2 βοηθήσω παντὶ σθένει, Diodor. xvi 75 βοηθεῖν . . . παντὶ σθένει. In Plato *Phaedrus* 207 c τὸ τοῦ Χαλκηδονίου σθένος is mock heroic (Rutherford *New Phrynicus* p. 10 note).

κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, again, involves the collocation of at least

five short syllables, and is therefore unlikely to be a phrase of the orator's own; it is never used by Demosthenes himself.

The whole phrase, in both its parts, must in fact be regarded as a *quotation*. The orator reminds his audience of their duty to their allies by quoting a formula customary in treaties of alliance. **KATA TO ΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ** is preceded by *ώφελεῖν* in the treaty quoted in Thuc. v 23 §§ 1, 3 (421 B.C.), and by *βοηθεῖν* in v 47 §§ 3, 5 (420); while **ΠΑΝΤΙ ΣΘΕΝΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ** is quoted with *ἐπικουρεῖν* in v 23 § 4, and is found with **ΒΟΗΘΕΙΝ** in at least fifteen inscriptions:—*CIA.* II i 6 = Hicks no. 65 (395– B.C.); 7 = Hicks no. 67 (395–); 15 l. 25 = Ditt. p. 104 (387–); IV ii 15 c 23 = Hicks no. 80 (387–); II i 17 l. 51 = Hicks no. 81, 49 (378–); 52 l. 17 = Ditt. p. 130, Hicks no. 88 (368–); IV ii 49 b ll. 5, 9, 16; 57 b = Ditt. p. 149 (362–); 59 b 16 = Ditt. p. 152, Hicks no. 97 (361–); Hicks no. 99, 10 (360–56); and no. 100, 16 (357?); II i 66 b p. 406 = Ditt. p. 159, Hicks no. 109 (356–); 112 (c. 356–40); IV ii 116 b (341–); II i 311 l. 19 (286–). We may even go further than this. It can hardly be doubted that a formal treaty containing this very phrase had already been concluded between Athens and Olynthus. A treaty of alliance is clearly implied by § 2 *ὅπως τοὺς συμμάχους σώσομεν*, and by § 16 *οὗς, εἰ πολεμήσοιεν, ἐτοίμως σώσειν ὑπισχνούμεθα*. From the analogy of similar documents we may infer (with Hartel *Dem. Anträge* p. 532) that the treaty was drawn up in the following form:—*Συμμαχία Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον· ἐάν τις ἦ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους παντὶ σθένει καθότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν Χαλκιδεῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· καὶ ἐάν τις ἦ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους κτλ.* It has been proposed by Köhler and Hartel to connect with this alliance a fragmentary inscription (*CIA.* II i 105 = Hicks no. 106) giving the names of certain envoys who (apparently with a view to ratifying this treaty) were to administer the oaths *τοῖς Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐσπερίους*. The Chalcidians and their oaths are also the subject of no. 106. The first of these inscriptions is restored as belonging to the archonship of Theellus (Ol. 107, 2 = 351–0 B.C.); the second certainly belongs to that of Callimachus (Ol. 107, 4 = 349–8 B.C.)

62. *ἐστρατηγηκότες . . ἔσεσθ(ε)* (1 § 14, 54 § 20) κτλ., 'you will have conducted the war in Philip's interests' (§ 17 *πάντα . . συγκατασκέυάσαντες αὐτῷ*). In 4 § 41 Demosthenes describes the Athenians as virtually making Philip their own commander. *πάντ(α)*, 'in all respects.'

§ 7 l. 63. *ὑπῆρχον*—(66) *ἐπράξαμεν*—(69) *ἐκπολεμῶσαι*: in

these three successive sentences we have three instances of *asyndeton*, each combined with the simplest forms of construction, and all leading up to the inference clearly drawn at the beginning of the next section.

ὑπῆρχον . . κекτημένοι :
4 § 13 ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν. δύναμιν τινα κекτημένοι : 2
§ 1 l. 6.

65. οὔτε . . ἐθάρρει τούτους, 'feared (not 'mistrusted') them.' θαρρεῖν (α) with Acc. is 'not to fear,' Xen. *Cyr.* v 5, 42 ἵνα σε . . θαρρήσωσιν, *Anab.* iii 2, 20 τὰς μάχας θαρρεῖτε, Plato *Phaedo* 88 B θάνατον θ., *Phaedr.* 239 D opp. to φοβοῦνται, *Euthyd.* 275 C, *Protag.* 359 D; (b) with Dat., 'to confide in,' Herod. iii 76 τεθαρσηκότες ὄρνισι.

66. ἐπράξαμεν . . εἰρήνην, 'effected (brought about, negotiated) a peace'; *operam dedimus et perfecimus ut pax fieret* (Sauppe), 18 § 162 πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, and § 311 τίς συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονεν; stronger than εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαμεθα (8 § 5). ἡμεῖς would naturally be followed by πρὸς αὐτούς or ἐκείνους (4 § 24, 9 § 9), but the orator is eager to show the active part taken by the Olynthians in bringing about the peace, and therefore at once adds κἀκείνοι. In 23 § 109 (352 B.C.) Demosthenes says of the Olynthians ὑμᾶς . . φίλους πεποιήνται, φασὶν δὲ καὶ συμμαχοὺς ποιήσεσθαι. This expectation has now been fulfilled. πρὸς ἡμᾶς cannot be taken as = πρὸς ἀλλήλους: this would require ἡμᾶς αὐτούς.

67. ἐμπόδισμα, *impedimentum*, is that which entangles and hampers the *foot*, while (68) δυσχερές is that which is awkward for the *hand*; 'this was hampering to Philip, and annoying too,' explained by the following clause, πόλιν μεγάλην κτλ.

68. ἐφορμεῖν, 'to watch'; met. from a hostile fleet watching a position, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐφεδρεῖν (5 § 15) Harpocr.; cp. 8 § 42 τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἐφεδρεῖν. ἐφεδρεῖν ('lie in wait for') is a metaphor from a land-force, and ἐφορμεῖν a metaphor from ships, as in Soph. *OC.* 812 (lit. in 19 § 322, the only other passage in Demosthenes, and in Thuc. i 142, 3, iii 31, 1, vii 3, 5).

Nautical imagery abounds in Athenian literature, as might be expected from the maritime tastes and enterprise of the people. Hence is drawn the celebrated expression of Demosthenes as applied to Aeschines, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς (18 § 281), 'he rides not at the same anchor with his fellow-countrymen'; cp. [ἐφορμεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Aeschin. 3 § 209, and] ἐπὶ δυοῖν ἀγκύραιν ὁρμεῖν ([56] § 44), represented characteristically by the old English saying 'to have two strings to your bow' (HM Wilkins).

69. τοῖς—καιροῖς, the 'crises' or 'critical moments' of his fortunes, his 'weak points'; almost = ἀτυχήμασιν (schol.);

23 § 173 (and Hyper. 4 § 8) *καιροφυλακεῖ τὴν πόλιν. ἐκπολεμῶσαι* : 1 § 7.

70. *ῥέμεθα* (as in 9 § 25) for *ῥόμεθα* : similarly *ῥμην* Isae. 2 § 30, Xen. *Anab.* v 3, 25, Aristoph. *Plut.* 834, and 19 passages in Demosthenes (ed. Blass) against only 2 of *ῥόμεν* (*Prooem.* 51 and *Ep.* ii 22).

71. *ἐθρύλουν*, 1 § 7, 'were always talking about,' 'harping on,' rather than 'were clamorous for.'

72. *ὅπωςδῆποτε*, 'somehow or other,' no thanks to any efforts on our own part; *γέγον'* *αὐτόματον* (1 § 7). The war had broken out on the initiative of Philip, and not on that of Olynthus and Athens (Holzinger and Weil).

§ 8 l. 73. *ἐρρωμένως* : 1 § 14, [11] § 22, 15 § 35, the only examples of this Adverb in Demosthenes.

74. *προθύμως*, with *βοηθεῖν* in § 5, 1 § 9, 16 § 17; and without in § 14; 1 §§ 1, 6; 2 § 27, 8 § 38, 14 § 14.

ἐγὼ μὲν : not followed by *ἄλλοι δέ*, 4 §§ 10, 50; 6 § 16, 8 §§ 18, 37. *χωρίς* : 2 § 4, 19 § 83 *χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης αἰσχύνης* . . *καὶ μεγάλοι κίνδυνοι περιεστᾶσιν. τῆς περιστάσης ἂν* = *ἡ περισταλή ἂν*. Goodwin *MT.* § 215.

75. *εἰ καθυφείμεθα* : Aor. *Opt.* Mid. (identical in form with 2 Pers. Pl. of Aor. *Ind.* Mid., and of Perf. *Ind.* Pass.), 'if we sacrificed' any of our interests; cp. 16 § 18, 18 § 107, 19 § 6; with *τὰ τῆς πόλεως* [58] § 6, *τὸ πρᾶγμα* ib. § 12, *ἀγῶνα* 21 §§ 39, 51; cp. 23 § 96, 29 §§ 35, 36, 39; [58] § 34. Xen. *Hell.* ii 23 *καθυφίεσθαι* ('surrender,' 'lower the flag') *τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ*.

76. *οὐδὲ τὸν φόβον—τὸν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα*, 'even the terror (i.e. 'danger'), which I see arising from the future, is not small.'

77. *μικρόν* (*ὄντα*): cp. 4 § 18. *ἐχόντων* . . *ὥς ἔχουσι* (23 § 182 *ἐχούσης ὥς ἔχει*): euphemistic. In 5 § 18 he says more plainly, of the Thebans, *ἔχουσιν ἀπεχθῶς*. On the present relations of Athens to the Thebans and Phocians cp. 1 § 26.

78. *ἀπειρηκότων* . . *χρήμασι*, 'having become bankrupt,' 'having fallen short (lit. 'become exhausted') in money.' For the Dat. cp. Isocr. 4 § 92 *ταῖς ψυχαῖς νικῶντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπεῖπον*. The sense of the text is the same as in *δαπάνη χρημάτων ἀπειρήκεσαν* (Paus. iv 9, 1), cp. Aeschin. 1 § 53 *τῇ δαπάνῃ ἀπέειπε*, Thuc. ii 13, 6 *χρήμασι* ('with regard to money') . . *οὕτως ἐθάρουνεν αὐτούς*. The Phocians under their successive generals, Philomelus, Onomarchus, Phayllus, and Phalaecus,

met the expenses of the Sacred War (355-46 B.C.) by means of the treasures of the Delphic temple. Aeschin. 2 § 131 (the Phocian τύραννοι) κατέστησαν μὲν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τολμήσαντες τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἄψασθαι . . κατελύθησαν δ' ἀπορία χρημάτων, ἐπειδὴ κατεμισθοφόρον τὰ ὑπάρχοντα. At least 10,000^t had thus been spent. Thirlwall v pp. 270, 273, 277, 331, Grote c. 87 viii 11, 14, 50, 116.

79. μηδενὸς . . ὄντος = ἐὰν μηδὲν . . ᾗ, 4 § 18. Cp. 1 §§ 12, 25.

80. τὰ παρόντα : the affairs of Olynthus and the Chalcidic confederation, contrasted with ταῦτα τὰ πράγματα, the interests of Phocis, Boeotia and Attica. καταστρεψαμένῳ : 1 § 12, 4 §§ 6, 9, 42 ; 9 § 71, 16 §§ 18, 29 ; 18 §§ 30, 44, 244 ; 23 § 11, Thuc. iv 65, 3.

81. ἐπικλίνειν, with πρὸς, not 'to incline towards' (L & S), but 'to turn against,' 'press heavily on.' For ἀποκλίνειν ἐπὶ ('to turn to') see 1 § 13, τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑμῶν . . κλινεῖ (Prooem. 41 § 3), and cp. Soph. OT. 1192 ἀποκλίνειν 'to fall away,' or 'to decline,' Xen. Mem. iii 5, 13 ἢ πόλις . . ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἔκλινεν. ἐπικλίνειν is not used elsewhere by Demosthenes, who supplies the earliest example of its intrans. and metaphorical sense.

§ 9 l. 82. εἰς τοῦτ' ἀναβάλλεται ποιήσιν τὰ δέοντα, 'postpones till then (lit. 'as far as this') the intention of doing his duty.' The reference to the distant future is made more prominent by the use of the Fut. Inf. (Goodwin MT. § 113). Herod. vi 86 ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε. Cp. 8 § 14.

83. ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν : Soph. Phil. 467 πλοῦν μὴ ᾗ ἀπόπτου μᾶλλον ἢ ᾗ γγύθεν σκοπεῖν, ib. 656 καγγύθεν θεῶν λαβεῖν, Eur. Ion 586 οὐ ταῦτ' οὐκ εἶδος φαίνεται τῶν πραγμάτων | πρόσωθεν ὄντων ἐγγύθεν θ' ὀρωμένων. ἐγγύθεν : not found elsewhere in Demosthenes, only twice in Thucydides (iii 13, viii 4), never in Lysias, Isocrates, Aeschines, but often in Plato. ἀκούειν : contrasted with ἰδεῖν, as with ὁρᾶν in 4 § 47.

85. ἐτέροις αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν : 18 § 218 περιεστῆκει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν . . αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἐτέροις. εἰς τοῦτο περιστῆσεται, 'will take this turn,' or 'have this issue.'

87. προώμεθα : 16 § 25 ; see note on 1 § 9 l. 77. δῆπου (with ἔστε in 2 § 25) : ironical, and therefore placed last for emphasis, as in § 17.

§ 10 l. 89. τὸ δ' ὅπως (sc. βοηθήσομεν), 'but the question

how'; the only other passage where ὅπως is elliptically used in Demosthenes is 37 § 34 τὸ δὲ ὅπως, ὑμεῖς σκοπεῖτε. Similarly 24 § 96 ὡς δέ, φράσω, 32 § 4 πῶς δέ, οὐ προσέγραψεν.

90. μή . . θαυμάσητε: *prodiorthosis* (as in 1 § 26, 5 § 15, 8 § 32, etc.), here used to prepare the audience to hear of a proposal for legislation instead of the equipment of armaments of war.

91. παράδοξον εἶπω τι: 14 § 24 παράδοξον μὲν οἶδα λέγων, 18 § 199 βούλομαι τι καὶ παράδοξον εἶπείν. καὶ . . μηδεὶς . . θαυμάσῃ, *Prooem.* 56 § 3 ὅ τισιν παράδοξον ἴσως ἔσται, 9 §§ 5, 21; 24 § 122, 25 § 32, [60] § 21. These are all the examples in Demosthenes. νομοθέτας, 'law-revisers'; a legislative commission taken from the number of those entitled to serve on juries for the year. The procedure resembled that adopted in a law-suit. Those who desired the repeal or alteration of existing laws, or the substitution of new ones, appeared as accusers; those who desired no change came forward as defenders. The nomination of this commission *ordinarily* took place early in the Attic year, at the third regular Assembly (Schömann *Ant. of Greece* pp. 389-90 ET., and Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* i 336²=301 ET.) Owing to the critical position of affairs, Demosthenes here urges the immediate appointment of an *extraordinary* commission for the repeal of certain laws.

Hartel (*Dem. Anträge* p. 536) holds that the orator's proposal for the appointment of νομοθέται is not to be taken seriously as a formal and definite motion. Such a proposal could not legally be put to an immediate vote, and, owing to the difficulty as well as the lengthy procedure and uncertain result of a legislative trial, it was of no practical use for the immediate emergency. He considers it probable that, by showing how it was possible to make use of the theoric fund, the orator was really putting pressure on his audience with a view to make them better inclined to carry out the measures which had been resolved. But these notes of warning were uttered in vain, for Olynthus had already fallen before the citizen force had reached the place. The proposals and counsels of Demosthenes had as little result now as two years before; it may even be conjectured that we are indebted to this fact for the preservation of these masterpieces of his art.

92. καθίστατε: 24 § 25 τοὺς νομοθέτας καθιεῖτε, § 26 καθίξεσθαι ν., § 27 καθίσαι ν., § 29 καθιζομένων των ν. . .

τούτοις: 24 § 33 quoted below; cp. ἐν τοῖς δικάσταῖς, ἐν ὑμῖν.

μή θῆσθε κτλ.: Mid. used of the people; 'enact no statute,' i.e. 'let the commissioners enact no statute.' The commissioners would be taken from the people themselves, and the part are treated as the whole (K.) Prohibition is here, as usual, expressed by μή with Subj. μή θῆσθε, and affirmative command by Imper. λύσατε (Goodwin *MT.* § 259).

93. εἰς—ἱκανοί: 23 § 87 ὑπαρχόντων τοσούτων νόμων, Isocr. 7 § 39 τὰ πλήθη . . τῶν νόμων, 8 § 50 πλείστους τιθέμενοι νόμους.

94. εἰς τὸ παρόν: 18 § 207, *Ep.* 6 § 2, 29 § 10 πρὸς τὸ παρόν. λύσατε: 24 § 33 τῶν νόμων τῶν κειμένων μὴ ἐξεῖναι λῦσαι μηδένα ἐὰν μὴ ἐν νομοθέταις (l. 92).

§ 11 l. 95. τῶν θεωρικῶν, 'our festival-fund.' From the time of Pericles the poorer citizens received grants from the treasury to enable them to pay the two obols charged for admission to ordinary places in the theatre (Plut. *Per.* 9, and Ulpian on *Ol.* i init.) This measure is attributed to Cleophon in Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* 28 § 3. The grants were originally paid out of the surplus funds in the treasury (Isocr. 8 § 82 ἐψηφίσαντο τὸ περιγιγνόμενον τῶν πόρων ἀργύριον διελόντας κατὰ τάλαντον εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν τοῖς Διονυσίοις εἰσφέρειν). At first the fund was in charge of the *Hellenotamiae*, or treasurers of the Athenian confederation. During the administration of Eubulus (354-39) it was managed by special officials, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν (mentioned in Aristot. l.c. 43 § 1, 47 § 2). The surplus of the revenue available for purposes of war was paid into the 'theoric fund' on the understanding that it should be used to meet the expenses of war, if necessary. But this understanding was soon disregarded. The poorer classes were reluctant to give up their dole, and were supported in this by the popular orators of the day. Hence the state was hampered in its preparations for war, and, to meet the expenses required for that purpose, had no alternative to levying an extraordinary war-tax. An attempt to restore the fund to its proper purpose was made by Apollodorus, [59] § 4 ἔγραψε ψήφισμα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Ἀπολλόδωρος βουλευὼν καὶ ἐξήνεγκε πρόβουλεμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον, λέγων διαχειροτονεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον εἴτε δοκεῖ τὰ περιόντα χρήματα τῆς διοικήσεως στρατιωτικὰ εἶναι εἴτε θεωρικά, κελευόντων μὲν τῶν νόμων, ὅταν πόλεμος ᾖ, τὰ περιόντα χρήματα τῆς διοικήσεως στρατιωτικὰ εἶναι κτλ. This attempt belongs to the same date as the Euboic war, assigned to 350 B.C. by ASchaefer, to 349 by Baran, and to 348 by Weil and Blass. In the last case the proposal of Apollodorus would be later than the date of the present speech. Apollodorus failed in his object, and was condemned to pay a fine of one talent, [59] § 8. We are even told that a law was carried by Eubulus enacting that the mere proposal to apply the theoric fund to purposes of war should be punishable by death (Libanius on *Ol.* i and schol.) This is probably a mistaken inference from the ambiguous use of ἀπολέσθαι in § 12 l. 105 q.v. Demosthenes, at any rate, shows considerable caution in approaching the subject in 1 §§ 19— and in the text. For the present he did not succeed in bringing about any reform. In 346 (*Ol.* 108, 2) Eubulus compelled the Athenians to ratify the peace of Philocrates by simply threatening to apply the theoric fund to the purposes of war (19 § 291). It was not until Athens was in imminent peril in 339 (*Ol.* 110, 2), on the eve of the battle of Chaeroneia, that Demosthenes succeeded in carrying his point (Philochorus *Frag.* 135). Cp. Thirlwall v 300, and ASchaefer i 199-208². See also note on 1 § 19 l. 171.

σαφῶς οὕτως, 'just plainly,' 'thus unreservedly' (in contrast to the more cautious language of 1 § 19); 23 §§ 48, 53; 36 § 26; σαφῶς γ' οὕτως 20 § 97, φανερώς οὕτως(s) 18 § 136, 27 §§ 21, 22; 45 §§ 18, 136, φ. οὕτως 27 § 29, ῥαδίως οὕτως(s) 18 § 126, 31 § 9, ἀντικρὺς οὕτως 19 § 36, ἀπλῶς οὕτως 21 § 99. οὕτως(s), or οὕτωςί, precedes φανερώς 23 § 85, 32 § 27, ἀντικρὺς 19 § 154, ἀκριβῶς [35] § 25, καταφανῶς [35] § 27, and ῥαδίως

Lys. 18 § 15, etc., but never precedes σαφῶς (Rehdantz *Index 2* οὕτω[s]).

96. ἐνίοις limits the immediately preceding general description, τοὺς περὶ τῶν στρατευομένων. Cp. 27 § 23 ὅσα ξῖνα, 18 § 12 περὶ ὧν ἐνίων.

97. θεωρικά (χρήματα), 'as theoric money.' The word has been suspected; it is not necessary for the sense, and its omission would make the two parallel clauses each end with a verb διανέμουνσι || καθιστάσιν.

98. τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας, 'those who shirk service,' 'deserters,' Lycurg. § 39 τίς . . ἐδυνήθη ἀν ἄτακτον αὐτὸν ὑπομείναι ἰδεῖν; (The verb is not found elsewhere in Demosthenes; ἀτάκτως occurs in § 34.) Certain classes of citizens obtained exemption from military service either as merchants (Aristoph. *Ecccl.* 1027), or farmers of public taxes ([59] § 27), or as members of choruses (21 § 15, 39 § 16). Members of the Council were also exempt (Lycurg. § 37). Those who absented themselves without leave were liable to a γραφὴ ἀστρατείας (Lys. 14 § 7).

νόμοι δὲ ἦσαν κελεύοντες ἀφίσσθαι τινας τῆς στρατείας, ὥστε πομπεύειν εἰς τὰ Διονύσια. κατὰ χάριν οὖν τὴν ἐαυτῶν οἱ χορηγοὶ τοὺς νεωτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου μάλιστα ἐπελέγοντο (Ulpian). Heslop suggests that some further laws must have been passed, under which evasion of military service had become common.

ἀθῶους καθιστάσιν: 23 § 55 ἀθῶον ποιεῖ, § 85 ἀθῶους παρήκε, 19 § 258 ἀθῶον ἐᾶσαι. ποιοῦσιν is here avoided, as it is required in the parallel clause below. ἀθῶους and ἀθυμοτέρους are in parallel positions, and in alliterative correspondence with one another. εἶτα, 'and so.'

99. ἀθυμοτέρους (opp. to προθύμους): Xen. *Hell.* vi 2, 19, Aeschin. 3 § 245, ἀθυμία ib. 177, Dem. 23 § 194, Thuc. i 71, 4.

100. ἐπειδάν: far more frequent in Demosthenes, Thucydides, Isocrates, and Xenophon than ἐπάν (2 § 21) or ἐπήν, Thuc. v 47, viii 58, Isocr. 5 § 38, and much oftener used with Aor. than with Pres. Subj. (Zycha in *Wiener Studien* vii 111).

ταῦτα, 'these legal provisions.' The effect of the repeal of the law of Eubulus (assuming it was already in force) would be to make it possible to propose a decree reviving the law which assigned the surplus revenue to military purposes.

101. ὁδόν: also used metaphorically in 18 § 15 ἐκστὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ, § 322 ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἰλόμην, 24 § 7 εἰ κατώρθωσεν ἥν ἐπ' ἔμ' ἦλθεν ὁδόν, § 38 ἐφ' ἐκάστην ἀπαντᾷ τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν ἀδικημάτων, §§ 106, 153 ὁδὸν δείκνυσι, 14 § 23 εἰς ὁδὸν καταστῇ, 22 § 26 ἐὰν πολλὰς ὁδοὺς ὧφ διὰ τῶν νόμων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡδικομένους.

102. τὸν γράψον(τα), 'one who is ready to propose' (by decree). For the Fut. Part. cp. 4 § 47.

§ 12 l. 103. πρὶν . . πράξαι, μὴ σκοπεῖτε ('look for'): § 13 (Goodwin *MT.* § 628).

104. εἰπὼν, 'for *proposing*,' ll. 107, 116. ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν: for similar contrast of prepositions cp. 4 § 50 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν.

105. ἀπολέσθαι, 'to be ruined,' *not* 'destroyed.' The ref. is not necessarily to any penalty of death, as supposed by Libanius, § 5 of *Arg. to Ol. i*, νόμον ἔθεντο περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τούτων χρημάτων, θάνατον ἀπειλοῦντα τῷ γράψαντι μεταθεῖναι ταῦτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν τάξιν καὶ γενέσθαι στρατιωτικά. What is meant is probably ἀτιμία or loss of political status owing to inability to pay a heavy fine. It is paraphrased by παθεῖν τι κακόν in l. 107, described as calculated to inspire fear in l. 110, it is a ζημία in l. 116, and a προὔπτον κακόν in l. 121. In [59] §§ 8, 9 ἀναρπάξειν and ἀνελεῖν are applied to the fate inflicted for a similar proposal, and in 8 § 40 the phrase κάκιστ' ἀπολώλασιν is applied to persons who are certainly still alive. (See also Blass *Att. Ber.* III i 316 f², Holm iii c. 12 n. 5, Max Miller *Blätter f. d. bayr. Gymn.* xi 174.)

It is maintained by Blass, i.e., that the proposal of Apollodorus to apply the theoric fund to military purposes ([59] § 4) must belong to a later date than *Ol. iii*, because Demosthenes does not imply in the text that any such attempt had already been made. The opposite opinion is held by EMüller (West.⁷ p. 404), Hartel (*Dem. Studien* i 29 f), and Baran (*Wiener Studien* vii 205 f). The text seems indecisive.

106. περιγίγνεσθαι, 'to result.'

107. παθεῖν without Art. after demonstrative Pron. τούτου: cp. 2 § 15 τοῦτο . ., παθεῖν, 6 § 3, 8 § 43, 9 § 23.

108. ὠφελῆσαι and (110) ποιῆσαι are best regarded as having the same *personal* subject as the preceding Inf. παθεῖν.

109. μᾶλλον . . φοβερώτερον: [43] § 25 οἰκειότεροί εἰσι μᾶλλον, [49] § 3 πλείονες μᾶλλον. The comparative degree shows that a still heavier penalty may be expected in the future, and that therefore the present penalty cannot be death (Blass *Att. Ber.* III i 317²).

110. καὶ λύειν γ(ε) κτλ., 'aye, and you must require the very same men to *repeal* these laws who have actually proposed them'; a challenge to Eubulus and his partisans.

112. οὔτεπ must refer to definite persons; here (as usually) it is followed by καί, 1 § 2, 4 § 8. τεθήκασιν: the Attic form attested by four inscriptions between 400 and 200 B.C.

τέθεικα is not found in any inscription earlier than the first century B.C.

§ 13 l. 113. τὴν . . χάριν κτλ., 'should *continue* to enjoy (ὑπάρχειν) the popularity (acquired by a measure) which was injurious to the state'; contrasted with τὴν ἀπέχθειαν, as in Xen. *Mem.* ii 7, 9.

114. θεῖσιν : sc. τοὺς νόμους.

116. τῷ νῦν . . εἰπόντι, 'to him who has in the present day proposed.'

117. εὐτρεπίσαι : 4 § 16, 1 § 13 εὐτρεπίσας, 18 § 175 ὑπτρέπισται, 23 § 189 εὐτρεπίσῃται (all the exx. in Demosthenes). Here 'to set right.'

118. ἀξιούτε : not *existimate*, νομίζετε (Sauppe), but (as in l. 112) 'require,' 'demand,' 'expect.'

119. παρ' ὑμῖν, 'among you,' 8 § 67, 9 § 53.

120. εἰς προὔπτον : followed by κακόν here, θάνατον [60] § 27, κίνδυνον Thuc. iii 99 and 111, 3, and "Αιδην Soph. *OC.* 1440.

§ 14 l. 123. ψήφισμ(α) : ASchaefer ii 134 understands this to refer to a new decree for exacting vengeance from Philip, which had been drawn up on the arrival of intelligence of some success on the part of Charidemus. Such intelligence is regarded by Hartel (*Dem. Anträge* p. 535) as likely to produce the very opposite effect; at any rate, the original decree was still in force.

124. ποιεῖν and προθύμως are *both* placed in emphatic positions, and consequently separated from one another. **τά γε δόξαντα**, 'what you have at any rate *determined*,' and therefore ought to *do*.

125. αὐτάρκη : 19 § 340, *Prooem.* 33 § 3, [60] § 14, [61] § 13, *Ep.* 1 § 6.

127. γραφείη : iterative; 'accomplish the purpose for which (lit. 'the subject concerning which') they were proposed in each instance.' It is to the antecedent of περὶ ᾧν that τούτων refers in l. 129.

128. μικρά, ὀλίγα, 'but a few things,' 'but little.'

130. ὑβρίκει : understanding ἄν from l. 128. **εἵνεκά γε ψήφισμάτων**, 'so far as decrees are concerned,' 'had it depended on decrees alone'; equivalent to a protasis, cp. 4 § 15 οὕτω (Goodwin *MT.* § 472). 25 § 65 εἵνεκ' ἀναιδείας, Xen. *Mem.* iv 3, 3 φῶς εἰ μὴ εἴχομεν, ὅμοιοι τοῖς τυφλοῖς ἂν ἦμεν, εἵνεκά γε τῶν ἡμετέρων ὀφθαλμῶν.

§ 15 l. 133. τάξει, 'order of time'; δυνάμει, 'essential importance,' 'real efficacy.' **πρότερον** is further explained by

κρείττον. Imitated by Sallust *Jug.* 85 *gerere* (quae consulis sunt) *quam fieri* (consulem) *tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est.*

135. **εἰπεῖν—δυνάμενοι:** Thuc. iii 38, 3 **μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν** ἕκαστος βουλόμενος δύνασθαι κτλ. **εἰπεῖν** and **ῥηθέντα** are both placed in emphatic positions to heighten the contrast between the present sentence which deals with *words* and the following sentence which deals with *deeds*. The orator uses the *positive* degree in **εἰπεῖν δυνάμενοι** (without **μάλιστα**) in modest reference to the eloquence of orators like himself, but the *superlative* **γνώναι ὀξύτατοι** in compliment to the intelligence of his audience.

136. **δυνάμενοι:** Halm (*Bemerkungen* p. 696) regards it as questionable Greek to say **παρ' ὑμῖν εἰσι δυνάμενοι**, and accordingly proposes **οἱ δυνάμενοι**. Similarly in 2 § 29 he approves of **οἱ βοηθούμενοι οἱ τριακόσιοι**, and in 3 § 33 **ἔστι ταῦτα τὰ . . ἐπαυξάνοντα**: also in 4 § 22 **πολίτας** [τοὺς στρατευομένους] **παρεῖναι** κελεύω. In the text, however, **δυνάμενοι** seems to be treated as an Adj. = *δυνατοί*, because it corresponds to **ὀξύτατοι** in the parallel clause. Cp. § 25 **σώφρονες ἦσαν καὶ . . μένοντες**. Similarly in § 33 **ἔστι . . ἐπαυξάνοντα** is parallel to **τοσαῦτ' ἐστίν**, and § 16 **ἔχων κτλ.** τοῦ ἔχθρός.

137. **καὶ πρᾶξι δέ—ποιήτε**, 'aye, and you will *now* be able to *act*, if you *do your duty*' (esp. by assigning the surplus of your revenues to the conduct of the war and not to your amusements). **καὶ . . δέ:** 9 § 70, 18 § 215, etc. **πράττειν** (*agere*) here appears to refer to *action* in general, **ποιεῖν** (*facere*) to the *doing* of the several acts considered as a series of details. Cp. 4 § 20 **ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε**, 9 § 15 **τοιαῦτα πράττων τί ἐποίει**; See on 4 § 1. 48.

This distinction differs from that of Funkhänel:—'**ποιεῖν** de tota agendi ratione et consilio accipiendum. Contra **πράττειν** de ipsa actione et susceptione rei dicitur, maxime in *singulis* rebus; *universe* autem **ποιεῖν** ponitur. Notabile hoc exemplum, 23 § 178 **πάντ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ δικαίως ἐπραξε**' (*πεποίηκε*, however, is bracketed by Blass).

§ 16 l. 139. **χρόνον**, 'time' in general, contrasted with **καιρόν**, 'a point of time,' or a specially suitable 'season' or 'opportunity.'

141. **οὐχ** (as in 9 § 32) influences the principal verbs in both of the following clauses, **πεισόμεθα** (143) as well as **προέληφε** (cp. § 2; 4 §§ 14, 31).

142. **χωρί(α):** 4 § 4, 1 § 9. **ταύτης:** not Attica, but the territory of the Olynthian confederation.

143. **πάντων:** masc. before Adv. **αἰσχιστα**, as in 27 § 18 **ἀναισχυντότατ' ἀνθρώπων**.

144. οὕς . . σώσειν (l. 16): an exaggeration for οἷς . . βοηθήσειν.

σώσειν is not inconsistent with πολεμήσαιεν, and does not involve the alteration of that verb into a Passive or the adoption of πολεμήσειεν ἐκεῖνος which would describe the Olynthians as the persons attacked. 'σώζειν non solum bello petitos sed etiam petentes servare, omninoque afflictos incolumes servare, perire non pati; Lucian *Phalaris* i c. 9 σώζειν τὸν ἐπιβεβουλευκότα—, . . τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, . . πόσους τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων μοι . . ἔσωσα;' (Voemel ed. 1829).

145. οὐκ ἐχθρός; κτλ.: 25 § 63 οὐκ ἀσεβής; οὐκ ὠμός; οὐκ ἀκάθαρτος; οὐ συκοφάντης;

146. ἔχων, 'in possession of.' οὐ βάρβαρος; Demosthenes treats Philip as a mere Macedonian, a member of a 'barbarous' tribe; but the royal house claimed descent from the Heracleidae of Argos (Herod. viii 137, ix 45, Thuc. ii 99, 2, v 80, 2), and one of Philip's ancestors, Alexander, had as a Greek been allowed to compete at the Olympic games (Herod. v 22). Demosthenes, however, in his hatred of Philip, never acknowledges his Greek descent, §§ 20, 24; 9 § 31, 19 § 327. See also Holm iii c. 14 n. 4. οὐχ ὃ τι ἂν εἴποι τις; sc. αὐτόν, '(is he) not—anything you like to call (him)?' 2 § 3, [13] § 4. Here we may imagine the orator almost out of breath as he gasps out this final and comprehensive phrase of vituperation. In such a spasmodic utterance no one need be surprised either at the presence of *hiatus* or at the concurrence of several short syllables.

§ 17 l. 147. ἔασαντες: [10] § 8 ταῦτα . . ὠλιγωρήθη. ταῦτα . . ἐαθέντα καὶ παροφθέντα ταῦτ' ἀμελούμενα.

148. μόνον οὐχί, 'almost,' 'all but,' 1 § 2. συγκατασκευάσαντες: 23 § 108 τῶν ἐκείνῳ (Philip) συγκατεσκευακότων τὴν ἀρχήν, [17] § 15, [43] § 4, all the exx. in Demosthenes. τότε=ἐπειτα, 'thereupon'; 2 § 7, 5 § 13.

154. μᾶλλον, 'rather' than himself. ἦττηνται: sc. οἱ ἡττηθέντες, already implied in τῶν φυγόντων.

155. δήπου: l. 87. μένειν . . ἔξην, 'he might have stood his ground' (but really ran away); Goodwin *MT*. § 419.

§ 18 l. 157. καὶ νῦν, 'similarly now,' applying the comparison to the present case; 1 § 11 καὶ . . οὕτως. νῦν is not to be coupled with λέγει. For the short hypothetical statements which follow, and may be represented most easily as a series of questions, cp. § 34, 18 § 107.

158. ἄλλος, 'any one else,' in general; (159) ἕτερος, a second speaker. εἰπάτω: only in 19 § 57 (with ἀναστάς), 20 § 113, *Ep*. 1 § 14.

159. ἀγαθὴ τύχη, 'and may success attend you'; *Prooem.* 32 § 4 εἰάν (τὸν λόγον) συμφέρονθ' εὖρητ', ἀγαθὴ τύχη πείθεσθαι. A customary formula specially used (like *quod felix faustumque sit*) as a heading in public documents, e.g. Ditt. no. 10 l. 40, nos. 112, 128, 318, 320, 339, 347; cp. Plato *Symp.* 177 E, *Laws* 625 c. The same words, written in golden letters, were inscribed on the shield of Demosthenes at the battle of Chaeroneia (Plut. *Dem.* 20 § 2).

160. οὐκέτι—ἀδικεῖ, 'there the speaker is at fault no longer' (as he was in the previous case, l. 157). The insertion of τοῦθ' prevents an accumulation of short syllables.

161. πλὴν—παραλείπει, 'unless he happens to omit some necessary prayer' (lit. 'except if, when he ought to pray, he omits' to do so); a satirical hit at an audience itself inclined to the expression of pious hopes for the best, and expecting such an expression on the part of its orators also; *ridet Athenienses qui omnia εὐχαῖς perfici posse sperarent* (Sauppe).

εὐξασθαι: 24 § 68 εὐχῆς . . ἔργον, Plato *Rep.* 450 D, 456 C εὐχαῖς ὁμοία.

163. εἰς ταυτό coupled with συνάγειν, Aeschin. 2 § 145, Plato *Laws* 811 A; here with ἀθροίσαντ(α), a word not found elsewhere in Demosthenes.

ἐν ὀλίγῳ may refer either to *time* or *space* ('in a short petition'), understanding χρόνῳ (Voemel, Weil) or χώρῳ respectively, or λόγῳ or πόνῳ (all these are suggested in Reiske's *Index*). It is applied to *time* in Thuc. iii 66, 3, iv 55, 3, Plato *Ap.* 22 B (χρόνῳ expressed in Thuc. i 93, 1); to *space* in Thuc. ii 84, 2; 86, 5; iv 26, 3; 55, 4; 96, 3; vii 67, 3; 70, 4, Xen. *Hell.* iv 4, 12 (cp. Thuc. vii 36, 6 *ξυμφερομένους* . . ἐς ὀλίγον τε καὶ πάντας ἐς τὸ αὐτό, and ii 84, 1 *ξυνήγον ἐς ὀλίγον*), Aristot. *Rhet.* iii 11, 9 ὅσῳ ἂν ἐλάττονι (τῇ λέξει) καὶ ἀντικειμένῳ λεχθῇ, τοσούτῳ εὐδοκιμεῖ μᾶλλον· τὸ δ' αἴτιον ὅτι ἡ μάθησις διὰ μὲν τὸ ἀντικεῖσθαι μᾶλλον, διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν ὀλίγῳ ('in a short compass') θᾶπτον γίνεται. Cp. *Eph.* iii 3 'in few words,' *Acts* xxvi 28 f 'with but little persuasion' (RV.), not 'almost' (AV.) ἐν ὀλίγῳ is not found in Demosthenes, the Dat. Neut. of ὀλίγῳ occurring three times, but only in the phrase ὀλίγῳ προτέρῳ. In *Prooem.* 53 § 3, however, we have an equivalent phrase ἐν βραχεὶ λογίσασθε ('for a moment').

ἐνὶ λόγῳ, 'in a single word,' is a conjecture supported by only four inferior mss. In Soph. *El.* 1089 we have δύο φέρειν <ἐν> ἐνὶ λόγῳ ('at once,' 'in one account'); in Thuc. v 85, 2 ἐνὶ λόγῳ is 'in one continuous speech' = *ξυνεχεῖ ῥήσει* ib. § 1. It means 'in short' in Plato *Phaedo* 73 A, 97 B, *Rep.* 437 D, 439 A, 571 D, *Laws* 856 C, Aristot. *Eth.* N. ii 1, 7, and Lucian *Imagines* c. 14. In *Rep.* 571 D ἐν ὀλίγῳ is the reading of the first hand of the Paris MS; in 437 D it is that of all the mss of Plato and an important MS of Athen. 123 C, where the passage is quoted, while ἐνὶ λόγῳ

is a correction due to Cornarius and universally accepted. Conversely, in Thuc. vi 34, 4 *κατὰ λόγον* is corrected by Dobree into *κατ' ὀλίγον*. In the text there is no suggestion of summing up, which is the ordinary meaning of *ἐν λόγῳ*, 'in short'; *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* is therefore retained.

164. *πραγμάτων*, 'practical measures,' contrasted with empty words and idle aspirations. *προτεθῆ*: see note on 4 § 1 *πρὸυτίθετο*, and add *CIA.* ii 47, 6 *τοὺς προέδρους προθεῖναι περὶ αὐτοῦ* (or *τούτων* *ib.* 76, 15).

165. *οὐκέ(τι)*: l. 160.

§ 19 l. 167. *ἔχει*, 'can,' with *εἰπεῖν* 8 § 70, 9 §§ 25, 68, *διεξελεθῆναι* 9 § 21, *ἀντιλέγειν* 8 § 31, *ἐγκαλεῖν* 9 § 24, *δείξαι* 18 § 138, *σῶσαι* 8 § 3, and *διαθέσθαι* (2 § 16). *τὰ θεωρικά*: a topic which has been in the orator's mind since § 14. He now takes up the imaginary suggestion that it might be possible to let the festival-fund alone and provide supplies from other sources.

168. *πόρους ἐτέρους*: 1 § 20. *στρατιωτικούς*: applicable to military purposes.

169. *κρείττων* ('superior,' 'cleverer'): sc. *ἐστί*. *κρείττων* (sc. *λέγει*, cp. § 18 *λέγει βελτίῳ* and *τὰ βέλτιστα*, and 18 § 320 *κράτιστα λέγων*) is preferred by Blass on rhythmical grounds; but *κρείττω* alone is found as Neut. Pl. in Dem. (20 § 163).

170. *εἴπερ ἔστιν*, 'if it is possible,' = *εἴπερ τις ἔχει*. *ἔστιν*, applied to things, is here parallel to *ἔχει*, applied to persons (Weil). This is preferable to understanding *τις ἔχων ἔαν* or *τοιοῦτος τις*.

171. *θαυμάζω*: ironically preferred to a stronger phrase, such as *ἀτοπὸν ἔστιν*. *γέγον(ε)*, 'is possible,' with Dat., Xen. *Cyr.* vi 3, 11 *λαβεῖν μοι γένοιτο αὐτόν*, and *ἐγένετο* in viii 1, 15 and *Anab.* i 9, 13.

172. *τὰ παρόντ(α)*, 'what he has,' contrasted with (173) *τῶν ἀπόντων*, 'what he has lost' (cp. Hesiod *Works and Days* 364-5). The reference in both clauses is to the expenditure on the festival-fund. The schol. wrongly refers *τῶν ἀπόντων* to the imaginary 'new supplies,' *οἱ μέλλοντες πόροι*. Demosthenes is purposely stating an impossible case. *ἂ μὴ δεῖ*: not οὐ, as the relative is here indefinite.

174. *μέγα . . ὑπάρχει*, 'is a great support' (or 'incentive'); 2 § 14 l. 129. *τοιούτοις*: such as the proposal to invent fresh sources of supply.

175. *διόπερ*, 'and for that very reason,' as in 1 § 23, 6 § 11, 9 § 46, 18 §§ 113, 120, 138, '226'; 19 § 54, Thuc. viii 92, 1. Others (Sauppe and Weil) take it as meaning *propterea quod*,

‘just because,’ as in Xen. *Mem.* iv 8, 7 οὐ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν ἐμέ, . . ἀλλὰ διόπερ (= διὰ τοῦθ’ ὅτι) καὶ αὐτοὶ ἂν οἴονται ἐμοὶ συνόντες βέλτιστοι γενέσθαι. ῥᾶστον—ἐξαπατήσαι: *Prooem.* 9 § 1 λήσει τὸ ῥᾶστον τῶν ἔργων ποιῶν, αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῶν.

176. δ γὰρ βούλεται—οἶεται (εἶναι, 18 § 229): the subject of the verb in the relative clause is expressed as that of the subsequent verb in the principal sentence. For the sense cp. Dion. Hal. *de Thuc.* c. 34 δ γὰρ ἕκαστος βούλεται εἶναι περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον . . , ταῦτ’ οἶεται, Quintil. vi 2, 5 *id, quod volunt, credunt quoque*, Shakesp. *2 Henry IV* Act iv Sc. 5, 93 *thy wish was father to that thought*.

§ 20 l. 178. ὁρᾷ(ε) . . ὅπως καὶ τὰ πράγματ’ ἐνδέχεται καὶ δυνήσεσθ’ ἐξίεναι καὶ μισθὸν ἔξετε: the Future tenses used to be taken as the apodosis to the principal verb, ὁρᾶτε . . ὅπως—ἐνδέχεται, ‘see, then, what the realities allow, and you will be able to serve and to have pay’ (K., so Franke, Voemel, Heslop). But the latter part of this sentence does not represent the result of the former, while the next sentence suggests no means of ‘seeing service and securing pay’; it urges resolute action against Philip in spite of the absence of supplies. Hence the Future and the Present tenses are all alike to be taken as dependent on ὅπως:—‘consider the question (of supplies for the war) thus: (consider) how the facts actually stand, and also how you are to be able to take the field and how you are to secure supplies.’ ὅπως with the Present is here ‘the position in which’; with the Future, ‘the manner in which.’ The view that all the three verbs are parallel with one another in construction is supported by the first καί (after ὅπως), which would be superfluous if ἐνδέχεται alone were dependent on ὅπως.

The earlier view is best stated by Franke:—‘ταῦτα dicit ea, quae de stipendio cogendo disceptavit. Nam si, quid status rerum postulet, secum reputaverint, intelligent theoricā ad belli usus revocanda esse. Id si intellexerint, habebunt unde bellum gerent facientque id quod est σωφρόνων καὶ γενναίων ἀνθρώπων.’

181. σωφρόνων . . γενναίων: the ‘sober-minded’ would rise superior to temptations to self-indulgence, and would forego the theoric dole; while the ‘magnanimous’ would sooner lose money than lose honour. As noticed by the schol., direct reproof is here robbed of its sting by being put into the form of a γνώμη or general sentiment.

182. ἐλλείποντας—πολέμου: constr. δι’ ἐνδειαν χρημάτων ἐλλείποντάς τι τῶν τοῦ πολέμου. For Acc. ἐλλείποντας after Gen. cp. 7 § 6, 8 § 46.

183. εὐχερῶς, ‘heedlessly,’ ‘recklessly,’ used with λέγειν in

18 §§ 70, 264, and with ἀκούειν in *Prooem.* 42 § 2. ὀνειδῆ: such reproaches as having no resources for war, owing to their having been spent on theatrical amusements.

184. φέρειν, 'to bear,' 'endure,' 'suffer,' rather than 'receive as one's due.' The latter *can* be expressed by the Active, but the Middle is oftener used. μὲν . . . δέ, 'while . . . yet,' 2 § 24. The reproach lies in the *inconsistency* between spirited action in the past and remissness in the present, and also in the *contrast* between being ready to attack cities which, though hostile to Athens, were after all *Greek*, and neglecting to protect Greek cities from being enslaved by a 'barbarian.'

Κορινθίους καὶ Μεγαρέας: the reference to *Corinth* is sometimes understood of the Athenians under Myronides attacking the Corinthians in their invasion of Megara, Thuc. i 105, 458 B.C.; and the reference to *Megara*, of the Athenian invasion under Pericles, Thuc. i 31, 431 B.C. (so Sauppe, Dindorf, Whiston). But these two events respectively occurred 109 and 82 years before, and probably some much more recent affair is meant. The attack on the Megarians, the 'cursed Megarians' of a speech delivered in 352 (23 § 312), is probably the same as that noticed in 13 § 32 πρὸς τοὺς καταράτους Μεγαρέας ἐψηφίσανθ' ἀποτεμνομένους τὴν ὀργάδα, ἐξίέναι, κωλύειν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν (followed by a reference to a *recent* event). This may be inferred from a schol. on the text: τὴν ἱερὰν γῆν ὡς ὀργάδα καὶ ἄνετον ἐγέωργον οἱ Μεγαρεῖς. πάλιν ὡς εὐσεβεῖς ἐπανέσαν αὐτοὺς μόνῃ τῇ θεᾷ νικήσαντες. The attack on *Corinth* seems to have had a similar origin. The Corinthians, while inviting the Greeks in general to the Isthmian games, neglected to invite the Athenians. Accordingly the latter ἐπεμψαν τὴν θυσίαν μεθ' ὀπλιτῶν, and, in view of this armed force, the Corinthians were compelled to allow them to attend the games. The same event is noticed by Aristides *Panath.* i 311 Dind. Κορινθίων ψηφισαμένων ποτὲ μὴ δέχεσθαι τῇ πανηγύρει τὴν ἐνθύνδε (from Athens) θεωρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ πρεσβείας ἀπειπόντων τῇ πόλει μὴ πέμπειν, κοσμήσαντες ὁμοῦ τοὺς τε θεωροὺς καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀπστείλαν. ὥς δ' ἦσαν Ἐλευσῖνι, Κορινθιοὶ μὲν ἦκον σπενδόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τὴν θεωρίαν πέμψαντες τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπανήγαγον. Aristides mentions this as an example εὐσεβείας ἅμα καὶ πραότητος καὶ φρονήματος on the part of the Athenians, and the schol. on that passage adds: λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης "ἐπὶ μὲν Κορινθίους καὶ Μεγαρέας ἀρπάσαντας τὰ ὄπλα πορεύεσθαι" (Rehdantz p. 4th ed. Blass).

185. ἀρπάσαντας τὰ ὄπλα: *armis arreptis*, [17] § 3; Part. indicating manner (Goodwin *MT.* § 836).

186. ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι (2 § 8 οἱ — δεδουλωμένοι): e.g. the Thessalians and the Poteidaecans; a similar fate, the orator foresees, is in store for the free cities of Chalcidice in general.

187. ἐφοδίων: 4 § 28 τροφή. τοῖς στρατευομένοις: for Dat. cp. 1 § 22 τὰ τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς ξένοις.

§ 21 l. 188. οὐχ ἔν' ἀπέχθωμαί . . προήρημαι: [10] § 7 οὐ γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι . . προαιροῦμαι. τισιν ὑμῶν: Eubulus and his partisans. The orator finds it politic not to say ὑμῖν. τὴν ἄλλως, τὴν μάτην (Hesychius), 'idly,' 19 §§ 181, 336, Thuc. i 109, 2, ἄλλως 6 § 32.

189. ἄφρων . . ἀτυχής: this collocation of 'stupid' and 'unfortunate' is due to the Greek view that weakness of intellect was a misfortune sent by the gods. Hence also the combination of ἀβελτερία and δυστυχία (19 § 265, δυστυχής 14 § 32), ἄφρων or ἀλόγιστος and ἄθλιος (19 § 173, 21 § 66), ἀνόητος and κακοδαίμων (19 § 115) or κακῶς φρονεῖν (1 § 23), μανέντες and κακοδαίμονήσαντες (Isocr. 7 § 73), μανία (or ἀμαθία) and κακοδαίμονία (Aristoph. *Plut.* 501 and Xen. *Mem.* ii 3, 18), ἄνοια and κακοδαίμονᾶν (8 § 16), ἀφροσύνη and θεοβλάβεια (Aeschin. 3 § 133). Cp. *Amphis Com.* 3, 309 μάταιός ἐστιν ἐκ θεῶν καὶ δυστυχής (Rehdantz *Index* 2, s.v. *Thorheit*). Cf. 2 § 20 l. 182.

191. μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν: 2 § 14 πάντ' ὠφελεῖ. Δικαίου πολίτου κρίνω: 1 § 16 l. 147 τοῦτ' εἶναι συμβούλου.

192. πραγμάτων σωτηρίαν: 1 § 2.

193. ἀντὶ . . αἰρεῖσθαι: 1 § 1; a variation on προήρημαι l. 189. For the sense cp. 9 § 63, Lycurg. § 20, Dinarchus 1 § 114. τῆς—χάριτος: 4 § 38 ἡ τοῦ λέγειν χάρις.

194. τοὺς—λέγοντας (1 § 28), 'the speakers in our ancestors' time.'

195. ἀκούω: 4 §§ 3, 23; 6 § 11, 9 § 48, 'I have heard'; cp. 4 § 17 φασίν. ἐπαινοῦσιν κτλ.: Isocr. 8 § 38 τοὺς τότε πολιτευομένους ἐπαινοῦντες τὰναντία πράττειν ἐκείνοις πείθουσιν ὑμᾶς.

196. οἱ παριόντες, 'our politicians,' lit. 'those that come forward (ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα 1 § 8 l. 64) to address you.' οὐ πάντ, 'not entirely,' an ironical equivalent for οὐδαμῶς, cp. 8 § 2, 23 § 148, [43] § 81, [48] § 19, [59] § 36, *Prooem.* 15 § 1, 36 § 1, 38 § 1, 39 § 3 (all the examples in Dem.) See especially Cope's transl. of Plato's *Gorgias* App. 3.

197. ἔθει καὶ . . τρόπῳ κτλ., 'this habit and this kind of policy.'

198. χρῆσθαι: Impf. Inf.; Goodwin *MT.* § 119. Ἀριστέδην . . Νικίαν . . (199) Περικλέα: cp. their characters as drawn in Plut. *Arist.*, *Nic.* 2, and Thuc. ii 65, 5 f respectively.

199. τὸν ὁμόνυμον: Demosthenes of Aphidna, a general in the Peloponnesian war who, like Nicias, died in the disastrous Sicilian expedition. Speeches of Nicias are reported by Thucydides (vi 9 and 20), but Demosthenes, the general, has no record as an orator.

§ 22 l. 200. διερωτῶντες, 'asking constantly and continually' (L & S); only found here in Demosthenes.

201. τί γράψω; Aor. Subj., 'what would you have me propose?' Goodwin *MT.* § 287. τί (cogn. Acc. = τίνα χάριν) χαρίσωμαι; Aristoph. *Thesm.* 937 (a) χάρισαί τί μοι, (b) τί σοι χαρίσωμαι, and *Ran.* 47 f, especially 54 (of Cleon) τῷ δεσπότῃ Παφλαγῶν κεχάρισται. 19 § 19 σκοπῶν τί ἂν ποιῶν (om. S Y) ὑμῖν χαρίσαιο. Cp. § 3, 4 § 38, 9 § 4, Isocr. 8 §§ 3, 5.

202. προπέπεται, 'has been sacrificed,' 'complimented away,' 'given thoughtlessly away' like a drinking present, 'squandered away in boon companionship' (HM Wilkins). 18 § 296 ἄνθρωποι μισροὶ . . τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες ('toasting away their liberties,' Brougham) πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ, νῦν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

προπίνειν: primarily 'to drink a person's health,' and, after drinking first, to pass him the cup. The cup was sometimes given as a present to the person whose health was drunk (schol. on Pind. *Ol.* vii 1). Other presents might be given at the same time, Xen. *Anab.* vii 3, 26 προπίνω σοι καὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦτον δωροῦμαι κτλ., and *Hell.* i 5, 6. 19 § 139 Φίλιππος ἄλλα τε δὴ πολλά, οἷον αἰχμάλωτα καὶ τοιαῦτα, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκπωματ' ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ προὔπινεν αὐτοῖς. Presents might of course be given on both sides (Juv. v 127). Hence the metaphor in the text, where the verb is followed by the Gen. of the thing taken in exchange. Heslop quotes Plato *Apol.* 35 c καταχαρίζεσθαι τὰ δίκαια, and Milton *Prose Works* i 5 Bohn *not scrupling to give away for compliments.*

τῆς παραντίκα—χάριτος: 6 § 27 ἡ π. ἡδονή, [17] τὴν π. ἡσυχίαν, 8 § 70 τῆς παρ' ἡμέραν χάριτος, 23 § 134 τὴν ἤδη χάριν, 18 § 138 τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι, *Prooem.* 41, 2 τῆς παραχρήμα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔνεκα χάριτος . . δημηγορεῖν, 4 § 38 ll. 345 f, 9 § 4, 18 § 4, 19 § 118 πρὸς ἡδονήν.

203. τοιαντί: e.g. sacrificing the states of Greece to Philip through want of money. Cp. § 34 συμβαίνει τι τοιοῦτον.

204. τούτων: τῶν ῥητόρων, probably indicated by a gesture. καλῶς ἔχει: for the general sense see § 29.

§§ 23 32. The whole of this splendid specimen of 'epideictic' oratory is quoted in Dion. Hal. περὶ τῆς λεκτικῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος c. 21, in contrast with a parallel passage in Isocr. 8 (*de Pace*) §§ 36-56. The quotation is accompanied by the following criticism:—ταύτην τὴν διάλεξιν τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε καὶ κατὰ τὰλλα μὲν πάντα διαφέρειν τῆς Ἰσοκράτους; καὶ γὰρ εὐγενέστερον ἐκείνης καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἡρμήνευκε τὰ πράγματα καὶ περιεῖληφεν ὀνόμασι συγκροτήται τε καὶ συνέσπασται καὶ περιτετόρνευται τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἄμεινον· ἰσχυρὴ τε πλείονι χρῆται καὶ τόνοις ἐμβριθεστέροις· καὶ πέφευγε τὰ ψυχρὰ καὶ μεिरακιώδη σχήματα, οἷς ἐκείνη καλλωπίζεται πέρα τοῦ μετρίου· μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τὸ δραστήριον καὶ ἐναγώνιον καὶ ἐμπαθὲς ὄλω καὶ τῷ παντὶ κρείττον ἔχει ἐκείνης. The contrast comes to this that the passage from Isocr. is 'a display of graces'; that from Dem. 'a stirring summons to action' (Jebb *Att. Or.* ii 72). Cp. Quintil. vi 5, 8 (Dem.) cum offensam vereretur, si obviargaret populi segnitiam in asserenda libertate rei publicae, maiorum laude uti maluit, qui rem publicam fortissime administrassent.

§ 23 l. 206. κεφάλαι(α), 'a summary contrast.'

208. γνώριμος: a 'familiar' tale, because often told in panegyrics of Athens, e.g. Isocr. 7 § 79, Lycurg. § 72.

οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοτρίοις—οἰκείοις (Isocr. 9 § 77 οὐκ ἄλλοτρίοις παραδείγμασι χρώμενος ἄλλ' οἰκείοις), expanded in 20 § 110, cp. 19 § 269.

209. χρωμένοις: Part. denoting *means* (Goodwin *MT.* § 835).

ὑμῖν . . εὐδαίμοσιν ἔξεστι γενέσθαι, 'you may still be happy'; for constr. cp. 15 § 30 οὐδὲν ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῖς ἔσται κυρίως τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι, Caesar *BG.* vi 35, 8 *quibus licet iam esse fortunatissimis*, Horace *Sat.* i 1, 19 (*eis*) *licet esse beatis*, Martial ix 11, 16 *nobis non licet esse tam disertis*. Kühner ii § 475 b, Roby § 1357.

§ 24 l. 212. οὐδ' ἐφίλουν αὐτούς, 'nor caressed (humoured) them'; αὐτούς is added because the previous relative οἷς is not in the proper case for the new verb; cp. 9 § 47, 15 § 26, 19 § 309. Sometimes (as 23 §§ 111, 181) the case is the same in both clauses. For the sense cp. Aristoph. *Eg.* 849 (to Cleon) εἶπερ φιλεῖς τὸν δῆμον, ib. 739, 952; *Prooem.* 51 § 3 φασὶ μὲν . . φιλεῖν ὑμᾶς κτλ.

213. πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντ' ἔτη: the 45 years of the Athenian supremacy between the approximate end of the Persian and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 476–31 B.C. (Peter's *Zeittafeln* 476 B.C.) In 9 § 23 Demosthenes reckons the duration of the Athenian supremacy (προστάται . . ἐγένοντο) at 73 years (476–404 both inclusive) by including the 27 years of the Peloponnesian war. Cp. Boeckh *Publ. Econ.* bk. iii c. 20 p. 575 Lamb; Aristotle *Const. of Athens* 23 § 5 n.

214. ἐκόντων: less true *during* the supremacy than at its beginning. Thucydides is more accurate in saying (i 96) παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐκόντων τῶν συμμάχων. Cp. Isocr. 4 § 72, 8 § 30, 12 § 67 quoted in note on Aristotle *Const. of Athens* 23 § 2; also Isocr. 7 § 17, Aeschin. 3 § 58, Dinarchus 1 § 18. πλείω ἢ μύρια τάλαντ(α)—ἀνήγαγον: [13] § 26. Thuc. ii 13 reckons it as 9700^t in coin, and 500^t in uncoined gold and silver, or 10,200^t in all. Cp. Isocr. 8 § 69 μυρίων τάλαντων (Diodor. xi 40), § 126 εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγον ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν, 15 § 234 εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐκ ἐλάττω μυρίων τάλαντων ἀνήνεγκεν. εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, with ἀνήνεγκαν Dem. 24 § 120, and ἀνενεχθῆναι [58] § 19 (cp. 41 §§ 8, 11). The treasure was kept in the ὀπισθόδομος, the back or western chamber, probably of the 'old temple of Athene' on the Acropolis, and not the Parthenon (Miss Harrison's *Ancient Athens* pp. 465, 502, 507 f,

and plan on p. 487). Professor JW White *Harvard Studies* vi (1895) 1-53 holds that 'the *δπισθόδομος* referred to in inscriptions and in authors was not a part of any existing temple, but a separate building, complete in itself' (p. 3), and that it was the *δπισθόδομος* 'of the old Hecatompedon, rebuilt without peristyle and eastern chamber after the destruction of that temple in the Persian wars' (p. 48).

216. **ταύτην** of Macedonia, never far from the orator's thoughts, though its king has not been expressly mentioned since § 17. Cp. § 16, 4 § 3, 1 § 12. **βασιλεύς**: Perdiccas II, king of Macedonia, 455-11 B.C. His relations to Athens are somewhat exaggerated in the term **ὑπήκουεν**. He was doubtless to some extent dependent on Athens, but not really subject to her; in fact, he was repeatedly opposed to her during the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. i 56 f, iv 79, v 83 § 4). [7] § 12 mentions tribute levied on Macedonia by Athens; cp. [11] § 16. Cp. Thirlwall v 183, Grote iv c. 47 (202 f), c. 53 (463), c. 54 (532 f), ASchaefer ii 6².

217. **ὥσπερ**—"Ἕλλησι: Eur. *Iph. A.* 1400 **βαρβάρων δ' Ἕλληνας ἄρχειν εἰκός, ἀλλ' οὐ βαρβάρους, | μήτερ, Ἑλλήνων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλον, οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι**, quoted with approval by Aristot. *Pol.* i 5 **ὡς ταῦτ' οὖτος φύσει βάρβαρον καὶ δοῦλον ὄν.**

Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 6 p. 624 **καὶ μὴν ἐν Τηλέφῳ Εὐριπίδου εἰπόντος, Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάροις δουλεύσομεν; Θρασύμαχος ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Δαρισσαίων λέγει· Ἀρχελάφ (king of Macedonia) δουλεύσομεν, Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάρῳ;**

218. **πέζῃ**: less diffuse and stronger than **πεζομαχοῦντες**.

219. **αὐτοί**: by personal service, and with none of our modern mercenaries; § 30, 1 § 2. **μόνοι δ' ἀνθρώπων**: 23 § 14, 31 § 14, 21 § 195.

220. **κρείττω—κατέλιπον**, 'bequeathed as the crown of their exploits a glory beyond the reach of envy.' Thuc. ii 41, 3 **μόνη (ἢ πόλις) ἀκοῆς κρείσσω**, Horace *Odes* ii 20, 4 *invidiaeque maior*, Tac. *Ann.* xiv 54 *invidia infra tuam magnitudinem iacet*. **τὴν ἐπὶ** with Dat. 1 § 11, [11] § 10.

§ 25 l. 221. **ἐπὶ** with Gen. followed by **ἐν**, 2 § 1.

224. **οἰκοδομήματα—ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι**: 23 § 207 (352 B.C.) **τὰ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομήματα καὶ κατασκευάσματα τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα, ὥστε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι, προπύλαια ταῦτα, νεώσοικοι, στοαί, Πειραιεύς, τὰλλ' οἷς κατεσκευασμένην ὁρᾷτε τὴν πόλιν**, 22 § 76 (355 B.C.) **ἀφ' ὧν κτήματ' ἀθάνατ' αὐτῷ περίεστι, τὰ μὲν τῶν ἔργων ἢ μνήμη, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις σταθέντων τὸ κάλλος, προπύλαια ταῦτα, ὁ παρθενῶν, στοαί, νεώσοικοι**. Cp. [13] § 28.

225. **κάλλη . . ἱερῶν**: e.g. Parthenon, Erechtheum, 'Theseum.' The phrase has a poetic air (cp. Soph. *Aj.* 14), Plato *Laws*

625 В κυπαρίττων ὕψη καὶ κάλλη θανμάσια, *Phaedo* 110 A. Cp. 22 § 76 *supra*.

226. ἀναθημάτων: the images of the gods and also the dedicated offerings; Thuc. ii 13, 4, Plato *Alc.* ii 148 E ἀναθημασι κεκοσμήκαμεν τὰ ἱερὰ (τῶν θεῶν) ὡς οὐδένες ἄλλοι. Lists of dedicated offerings are recorded in *CIA.* i 117 f, also 170–73 (= Hicks no. 50).

227. μηδενί: due to the Inf. λελεῖσθαι, Perf. Inf. representing the act as finished.

§ 26 l. 229. πολιτείας ἦθει, 'the spirit of the constitution' is the principle of equality, emphasised below in ἕως l. 236.

μένοντες, 'true to,' Part. used as Adj., symmetrical with σώφρονες (ἦσαν going with both). Cp. § 33 l. 304, 2 § 26 l. 240, 8 § 75 ἦν γεγονός. ὥστε, instead of being followed

by ὁρᾶσθαι or φαίνεσθαι, is here followed by ὁρᾶ, owing to the Ind. Sing. in the dependent clause, εἴ τις—οἶδεν. τῇν

Ἀριστείδου—οὔσαν: repeated from 23 § 207 (written three years earlier). Cp. [13] § 29.

230. τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν: e.g. Themistocles and Cimon.

231. ἄρ(α): implying that the style of the houses might easily remain unnoticed. Dicaearchus, a pupil of Aristotle, says of the houses at Athens, αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν εὐτελεῖς, ὀλίγαι δὲ χρήσιμα (p. 8 Hudson). This was doubtless due to the fact that, before the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians preferred living in the country (Thuc. ii 16, 1; 62, 3, Isocr. 7 § 52). Boeckh *Publ. Econ.* bk. i c. 12; Gibbon c. 1 p. 46.

ὅποια, *qualis*, 'of what kind, or style.' This sense is supported by οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν, 'of no grander style than' etc.

Others (Cobet, EMüller, Blass) take ὅποια as a colloquialism for ἥτις, 'which.' Thus Cobet, who once preferred ὅπου, observes, *MC.* 22 'ποῖος ἐστὶς in Attica est prorsus idem, nam *qualis* dicitur ποῖός τις, ποῖ' ἅπτα. Itaque ὅποια ποτέ ἐστὶ ἥτις ποτέ, et nescire *quae* sit domus [Aristeidis] perinde bene dicitur atque nescire *ubi* sit.' But in Demosthenes the sense of *qualis* is not only expressed frequently by ὁποῖός τις (§ 32, 1 § 28, 5 § 13, 21 §§ 34, 46; 22 §§ 15, 64; 24 §§ 116, 118; 25 § 43, 31 § 9, 38 § 20, 45 § 82, [50] § 3, [53] § 24, 54 § 15, 57 § 17, *Prooem.* 22, 2; 26, 3; 32, 4), but it is also expressed by ὁποῖος alone (§ 25 l. 223, 15 § 34 ἀφ' ὁποῖων λόγων, 20 § 44 ἐν ὁποῖοις καιροῖς, 31 § 12 γινώσκεται ὁποῖός ἐστιν, 45 § 37 bis καθ' ὁποῖας ἀν (διαθήκας) εἰδέειν, [46] § 12 καθ' ὁποῖους νόμους. These (with the parallels to the text) are all the passages where it is found in Demosthenes, and there is nothing in that author to support the opinion that ὅποια here means ἥτις.

232. οὐ—περιουσίαν κτλ., 'their policy was not for their private advantage,' 21 § 159 τῆς ἰδίας τρυφῆς εἵνεκα καὶ περιουσίας, 23 § 208 νῦν δ' ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐκάστῳ τῶν τὰ κοινὰ πραττόντων τοσαύτη περιουσία ἐστίν. For the general sense cp. Isocr. 7 §§ 25, 53, Cic. *pro Flacco* § 28, Sall. *Cat.* 9.

233. ἐπράττετ' αὐτοῖς : see note on 1 l. 261.

234. τὸ κοινόν κτλ. : Horace *Odes* ii 15, 13 *privatus illis census erat brevis, commune magnum*. αὖξιν : τὴν πατρίδα οὐκ ἐλάσσω παραδώσω κτλ. (oath of ἔφηβοι in Stobaeus 43, 48).

235. πιστῶς . . εὐσεβῶς . . ἴσως ('in the spirit of equality' or 'brotherhood,' ref. to ἰσηγορία and ἰσονομία) : Gorgias (*Rhet. Gr.* v 550 w) δίκαιοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀστοὺς τῷ ἴσῳ, εὐσεβεῖς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τῇ πίστει, Lycurg. § 15 διαφέρετε τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τῷ πρὸς τε τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς κτλ.

§ 27 l. 239. προστάταις : the only passage in Demosthenes where the word is applied to leading politicians. νυνὶ δέ κτλ. : ἀντεξετάζει τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν <τῶν> περὶ τὸν Εὐβουλον ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν, τῶν τε Ἑλληνικῶν (§§ 27 f) καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν (§ 29) καὶ τῶν ἰδίων (§ 29), schol.

240. χρηστῶν, 'worthies'; ironical as in 18 §§ 30, 89, 318 ; 23 § 169.

242. οἷς (ref. to ἡμῖν l. 240) : instead of the Dat. being immediately followed by ἐξόν, the constr. is temporarily suspended in ὁρᾷ(ε) l. 243, to be resumed by ἐξὸν ἡμῖν l. 247.

Weil, preferring ἐξὸν δέ in l. 247, here assumes an *aposiopesis* in lieu of some such phrase as ὦδε τὰ πράγματ' ἔχει (cp. l. 238). But this would require ἐφ' ὧν or ὑφ' ὧν. EMüller's view, that οἷς refers not to ἡμῖν, but to ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστῶν (τῶν νῦν), is approved by Halm, who tries to get rid of the *anacoluthon* by taking οἷς with τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ. He understands the Dat. as different from that in Aristoph. *Ran.* 1134 ἐγὼ σιωπῶ τῷδε; and suggests that (in contrast to πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων εἰπεῖν) it may be taken in a narrower sense, *ihnen will ich anderes verschweigen*, d. h. *nicht vorhalten, wiewohl ich vieles zu sagen (ihnen aufzurechnen) hätte* (*Bemerkungen* p. 697).

τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ followed by *resumptive* use of ἀλλ(ά) : cp. 8 § 52, 9 §§ 21, 26 ; 20 §§ 33, 52 ; 22 § 15. ἂν is expressed with ἔχων, because it has *already* been stated that nothing would be said. ἂν is omitted when ἔχων comes first, as in 18 § 100 *μυρία τοίνυν . . εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω*.

243. ὄσης κτλ. = ἐπειλημμένοι τοσαύτης ἐρημίας ὄσῃ—ὁρᾷτε. ἐρημίας : 4 § 49, [13] § 19 ; 'absence of competitors,' 'a clear field,' a metaphor from the public games, kept up in τῶν πρωτείων and βραβεύειν. Lys. 29 § 1 ὁ ἀγῶν . . ἐρημότερος γηγénηται. ἐπειλημμένοι : with Gen. 20 § 24 ; *nacti*.

244. Λακ.—ἀπολωλότων : at Leuctra (371 B.C.) and Mantinea (362). Θηβαίων—ἀσχόλων, 'fully occupied' with the Phocian war since 356 (1 § 26).

246. ἀξιόχρεω : with Inf. as in *Prooem.* 12 § 2 with δίκην δοῦναι. 8 § 49 = [10] § 24 ἐγγυητής . . ἀξιόχρεως, 19 § 131

τίμημα . . ἀξιόχρεων, pl. § 295, [40] § 61 μάρτυρας ἀξιόχρεως (all the exx. in Demosthenes).

248. τὰ . . δίκαια, 'the rightful claims.' βραβεύειν : 51 § 11 ταῦτα βραβεύοντων, [12] § 17 αὐτοὺς εἶναι βραβευντάς (cp. Isae. 9 § 35), Isocr. 5 § 70 τῶν παρὰ σοῦ (Philip) βραβευόμενα, and 7 § 23.

§ 28 l. 248. ἀπεστερήμεθα : 4 § 50 l. 448.

249. χώρας οἰκείας : 4 § 4 ; 'our rightful territory,' the possessions claimed by Athens in Thrace, Amphipolis, etc.

χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλ. : Aeschines 2 § 70 names the same sum as spent by Chares in the Amphipolitan war.

250. εἰς οὐδὲν δέον : 4 §§ 14, 40 ; 16 § 7.

251. τῷ πολέμῳ : the war undertaken by Athens and Thebes against Sparta, 378 B.C. συμμαχούς : those of the new Athenian confederacy, 378.

252. εἰρήνης οὔσης : during the 'Social war,' when Athens was at peace with Sparta and Thebes (contr. with ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ).

ἀπολωλέκασιν : Aeschines l.c. describes 75 allied cities as gained by Timotheus (Isocr. 15 §§ 107-28) and lost by Chares.

οὔτοι : οἱ νῦν χρηστοί (§ 27).

253. ἡσκήκαμεν : another metaphor from the public games, cp. ll. 243, 246, 248. Isocr. 1 § 12, Xen. *Mem.* iii 14, 3 ; 7, 7, *Hell.* vi 3, 18. ἡ φρασάτω : 2 § 8, 8 § 8.

255. παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν : 2 § 4 ἐνθένδ(ε) . . , οὐχὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ.

§ 29 l. 255. ἀλλ(ά) κτλ. : 22 § 69 ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία ταῦτα μὲν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν . . ἄλλα δ' ἔσθ' ἃ καλῶς διόκηκεν.

256. ὦταν (also spelt ὦ 'tân or ὦ tân, Voemel *Proleg. Gramm.* § 14) : only found in 1 § 26, 18 § 312, 25 § 78. 'Well, sir, our foreign policy looks bad enough (says an imaginary partisan of Eubulus), but at any rate in the home department things are now better.' Isocr. 8 § 49 ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἂν τις ἰδὼν καλῶς διοικούμενα περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θαρρήσειεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῦτοις μάλιστ' ἀγανακτήσειεν ;

257. τί ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ἔχοι ; κτλ. : the satirical tone is the same as in 22 § 69 τί γὰρ βούλεσθ' εἶπω ; τὰ πομπεῖ' ὡς ἐπεσκεύασεν, καὶ τὴν τῶν στεφάνων καθαίρεισιν, ἢ τὴν τῶν φιαλῶν ποίησιν τὴν καλὴν ; τὰς ἐπάλξεις, 'parapets,' 'battlements' ; Thuc. ii 13, 6 παρ' ἐπαλξιν, collectively applied to the fortified walls of Athens and Peiraeus.

258. **κονιῶμεν** ('whitewash') **κτλ.** : there is the same bitterness of sarcasm on the paltriness of the public works of the day in 23 § 208 (352 B.C.) **δημοσίᾳ δ' ὑμεῖς ἃ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖτε καὶ κονιάτε, ὥς μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα, αἰσχύνῃ λέγειν.**

The author of [13] § 30 is more dispassionate, **δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀγαπᾷ κατασκευάζουσα καὶ κρήνας καὶ κονιάματα καὶ λήρους (καὶ οὐ τοῖς εἰσηγησαμένοις ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ κτλ.)** The reference is to the activity of the home department under the peace policy of Eubulus. The functions of a variety of officials in that department were then absorbed by the financial officers, Aeschin. 3 § 25 **πρότερον μὲν ἀντιγραφεὺς ἦν χειροτονητὸς τῇ πόλει, ὃς καθ' ἑκάστην πρυτανεῖαν ἀπελογίζετο τὰς προσόδους τῷ δήμῳ. διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὐβούλου γενομένην πίστιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ (Aristot. *Const.* Ath. 43 § 1, 47 § 2) κεχειροτονημένοι ἤρχον μὲν . . τὴν τοῦ ἀντιγραφέως ἀρχήν, ἤρχον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν, καὶ νεώριον καὶ σκευοθήκην ψυχοδόμουν, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ὁδοποιοί, καὶ σχεδὸν τὴν ὅλην διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως.** Dinarchus 1 § 96 attacks Demosthenes for not having built triremes (as was done under Eubulus), or docks, or any building in the Peiraeus or the city, and for not having caused any ornaments to be placed in the Parthenon. Cp. Thirlwall v 312, ASchaefer i 202² f, Beloch *Attische Politik* c. xi, Holm iii c. 15 n. 5.

τὰς ὁδοὺς ἃς ἐπισκευάζομεν : cp. Aeschin. 3 § 25 **ὁδοποιοὶ** in last note, Aristot. *Const. of Athens* 54 § 1 **κληροῦσι δὲ . . ὁδοποιοὺς πέντε, οἷς προστέτακται δημοσίους ἐργάτας ἔχουσι τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπισκευάζειν.**

259. **κρήνας, καὶ λήρους :** [13] § 30 ; 'fountains and fooleries' (K.), or 'f. and other follies,' the latter term being applied to extravagant structures in modern times. The fountains (i.e. the water-supply in general) were ordinarily under the charge of the **κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητής**, who was necessarily an expert, and therefore chosen by show of hands and not appointed by lot (note on Aristotle *Const. of Athens* 43 § 1, where an inscr. of 333 B.C. is quoted complimenting Pytheas ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν κρηνῶν).

λήρους is an inclusive term contemptuously summing up all the preceding items. Cp. Alexis ap. Athen. 336 f **τί ταῦτα ληρεῖς φληναφῶν ἄνω κάτω, | Λυκεῖον, Ἀκαδήμειαν, Ὀιδεῖον, Πύλας, | λήρους σοφιστῶν ; Philostr. *vit. Apoll.* 5, 14 βάτραχοι καὶ ὄνοι καὶ λήροι γραυσὶν οἷοι μασσᾶσθαι καὶ παιδίοις (οἱ Αἰσώπου μῦθοι), Lucian *Timon* c. 9 ἀρετὴν τινα καὶ ἀσώματα καὶ λήρους μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ ξυνειρόντων.** Similarly **φληναφοὶ** *Dial. Mer.* 14, 3, and **φλυαρίαι** Plato *Gorg.* 490 c **σιτία . . καὶ ποτὰ καὶ ἱατροὺς καὶ φλυαρίας, 519 ἄνευ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης λιμένων καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τειχῶν καὶ φόβων καὶ τοιούτων φλυαριῶν ἔμπεπλήκασιν τὴν πόλιν.** Cp. Aeschin. 3 § 101 **τὸν κόμπον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν.**

260. **ταῦτα πολιτευομένοις :** 5 § 12. **ὦν κτλ. :** 8 § 66 **τούτων μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν ἔνιοι ταχὺ πλούσιοι γίγνονται, καὶ ἐξ ἀνωνύμων καὶ ἀδόξων ἔνδοξοι καὶ γνώριμοι,** 21 § 189, 23 §§ 208 f, 24 § 124.

261. **ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι** (*Prooem.* 53 § 3) : people like Demades, Eubulus, Phrynon, Philocrates (schol.) ; Aeschines

and his brother may also be meant. *ἐξ ἀδόξων ἔντιμοι* is also applied by the schol. to 'people like Demādes,' who at present, however, was not an important personage.

262. *ἐνιοι κτλ.* : e.g. Meidias *οἰκίαν ὠκοδόμηκεν Ἐλευσίνοι τσοαύτην ὥστε πᾶσαν ἐπισκοτεῖν τοῖς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ* (21 § 51). Clearchus ap. Athen. 523 A says of the Iapyges *τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καλλίοντας τὰς οἰκίας ποιῆσαι τῶν ἱερῶν*.

263. *κατεσκευασμένοι* : Perfects Pass. are often used in Active sense in Demosthenes, cp. 1 § 22 *ἐψηφισμένοι*, 21 § 171 *κεκόμισται χάριν*, § 173 *λελύμανται τὸ ἱππικόν*.

§ 30 l. 268. *τότε μὲν πράττειν* : the mss have *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον*, 'at first,' instead of 'formerly,' cp. Plato *Gorg.* 457 E, Isaeus 12 § 10, Lycurg. § 41, Aeschin. 3 § 25, Xen. *Hell.* v 4 § 1, where (as in the text) *πρότερον* is preferred by Sauppe. In 6 § 16 *νῦν* is contrasted with *τὰ πρῶτα*. *τότε μὲν πράττειν* is, however, preferable; cp. ll. 292 f and next note.

στρατεύεσθαι κτλ. : the decay of the military spirit is noticed by Thirlwall v 320, and Grote c. 87 viii 33-9.

269. *ὁ δῆμος—ἦν* : 23 § 209 *τότε μὲν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἦν δεσπότης τῶν πολιτευομένων, νῦν δ' ὑπηρέτης* (l. 275).

271. *κάγαπητὸν ἦν* : 9 § 74; followed by Dat. *ἐκάστω. τῶν ἄλλων* : *τῶν πολιτευομένων*.

272. *κάγαθοῦ τινος*, 'and (in general) any other advantage,' the last item in the enumeration being here (as in §§ 17, 35; 4 §§ 32, 36) more generic than the rest.

§ 31 l. 274. *διὰ τούτων* : here certainly masc. ; cp. l. 69.

275. *ὑμεῖς δ', ὁ δῆμος* : § 20, 8 § 1 *ὑμᾶς . . τοὺς πολλοὺς*.

ἐκνευρισμένοι : lit. 'ham-strung,' 'with your sinews or tendons drawn or cut out'; here a metaphor of 'moral fibre'; sometimes understood of pecuniary resources which are the 'sinews' of war (so Voemel). It may be rendered 'enervated,' provided we do not confound *νεῦρον*, *nervus* (the *ligamentum* of Celsus) with the sense applied to 'nerve' in modern anatomy.

We have the *simile* corresponding to this metaphor in Plato *Rep.* 411 B *ἕως ἂν ἐκτίξῃ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ ἐκτέμῃ ὥσπερ νεῦρα ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ποιήσῃ μαλθακὸν αἰχμητήν*. This appears as a metaphor in Aristoph. *Ran.* 862 *τὰ νεῦρα τῆς τραγῳδίας*, and in *ὑποτέμνεται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων*, a phrase of Demosthenes which Aeschines 3 § 166 denounces as portentous; also in Plut. ii 692 C *ἐκτέμνειν τὰ νεῦρα* (sc. οἴνου) and *Philopoem.* 16. The verb is found in Plut. ii 451 D *οὐκ ἐκνευρίσας οὐδὲ ἐκτεμὼν παντάπασιν τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ὑπηρετικόν*, and 755 C *τὸ γυμνάσιον ταῖς γυναιξὶ παραδόμεν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, εἰ παντάπασιν ἡ πόλις ἐκνευρίζεται*.

Ioannes Siceliota vi 227 w (following Hermog. iii 236) criticises the metaphor in the text as harsh in sense, *ἐπὶ βῶν γὰρ λέγεται τεμνομένων τὸν τένοντα τοῦ σπονδύλου* (the second large vertebra of the neck), and also as harsh in expression. Hermogenes himself (iii 226) mentions it among other 'harsh'

metaphors, which σκληρότερον ποιοῦσι τὸν λόγον, and says (iii 206) τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐναργή ('vivid') μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ μέγεθος ἔχοντά πως, οὐ μὴν καθαρά. Hence, he adds, they often require explanation, as here ἐκνενευρισμένοι is explained by περιηρημένοι χρήματα συμμάχους. περιηρημένοι, however, implies being stripped of something that is around one (21 § 138, Thuc. iii 11, 3; cp. 18 § 296 ἡκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς . . πατρίδας 'having mutilated the very hands and feet of their respective countries'); it is here applied to external allies and to contributions coming from a distance, while ἐκνενευρισμένοι implies that the people are hampered in their home finance by the squandering of the theoric fund instead of being able to take the field boldly (partly from Rehdantz).

276. χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους: some of the best MSS, omitting καί, present us with an *asyndeton* of less than three terms. This is not very common, but is found in 18 §§ 67, 94, 241; 19 §§ 190, 220; 21 §§ 61, 81 (Voemel). ἐν ὑπηρέτου κτλ.: 23 § 210 ἡ πόλις εἰς ὑπηρέτου σχῆμα καὶ τάξιν προελήλυθε. (ἐν) προσθήκης μέρει: [11] § 8, [13] § 31; cp. 2 § 18 l. 168 ἐν οὐδενὸς μέρει, and § 14 l. 128 ἐν προσθήκῃ.

277. ἀγαπῶντες ἑὰν μεταδιδῶσι: cp. l. 271 κάγαπητὸν ἦν μεταλαβεῖν, Eubul. *Frag.* 93 ἀγαπῶν τε κὰν ἐψητὸν ἐν τεύτλοις ἕνα . . ἴδῃ, Aeschin. 1 § 174, 3 § 20, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 672. The Present μεταδιδῶσι implies a continuous series of doles from the theoric fund, while the Aor. πέμψωσιν refers to a single incident.

278. θεωρικῶν: for Gen. cp. l. 272. In Demosthenes μεταδιδόναι is followed nineteen times by a Gen., once by an Inf. (*Prooem.* 53 § 4), and only thrice by an Acc. 18 § 250 τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε (cp. 25 § 83), and 21 § 184 ταύτης οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν ὑμῖν μεταδοῦναι. Βοηδρόμια πέμψωσιν, 'attend (marshal, organise) the festal procession of the *Boëdromia*'; Photius s.v. ΠΕΜΠΕΙΝ quotes from Menander μικρὰ Παναθῆναι' ἐπειδὴ δι' ἀγορᾶς πέμποντά σε, | Μοσχίων, μήτηρ ἑώρα τῆς κόρης ἐφ' ἄρματος, Philostr. *vit. Apoll.* 4, 22 ἐπειδὰν τὰ Παναθῆναια πέμπητε, Plut. ii 527 D. Cp. 4 § 29.

The festival of the *Boëdromia* was held on the 6th day of *Boëdromion* (Sept.) in honour of Apollo as a martial god, Ἄ. βοηδρόμιος. Originally it commemorated the victory of Theseus over the Amazons (Plut. *Thes.* 27), or that of Erechtheus over Eumolpus (Eur. *Ion* 59, Suidas and *Etym. Magn.*) In the latter case the victory was attributed either to Xuthus or to his son Ion (Harpoer. s.v. ἐορτή τις Ἀθήνησιν οὕτω καλουμένη, ἣν φησι Φιλόχορος ἐν β' νενομίσθαι, ἐπειδὴ Ἴων ὁ Ξούθου ἐβοήθησε σπονδῇ πολεμουμένοις Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὸ Εὐμόλπου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, Ἐρεχθέως βασιλεύοντος. βοηδρομεῖν γὰρ τὸ βοηθεῖν ὠνομάζετο, τοιτέστιν ἐπὶ μάχην δραμεῖν). In process of time it appears to have become a joint festival in honour of Artemis ἀγροτέρα, as well as Apollo βοηδρόμιος, and to have been transformed into an annual commemoration of the victory of Marathon. It may even have included a representation of the famous charge (δρόμος) of the Athenians at that battle (Mommsen *Heortologie* 211). Sacrifices were certainly offered by the Polemarch in honour of Artemis (Aristot. *Const. Ath.* 58 § 1); and, although it has been asserted (by Westermann and

Heslop) that there is no mention of any procession in connexion with the *Boëdromia*, there was certainly a πομπή of the *Ἐρθεβί* ἐν ὄπλοις in honour of Artemis on the day of that festival:—*CIA.* ii 467–69 (Ditt. 347, 7–15) οἱ ἔφηβοι . . ἐπόμπευσάν τε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ ἐν ὄπλοις . . συνετέλεσαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς δρόμους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀγῶσιν ἅπαντας . . καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας ἔδραμον ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς πομπὰς ἐπόμπευσαν. This incident belongs to 101 B.C. Earlier evidence is not available at present; but none of the existing evidence is inconsistent with an armed procession at the *Boëdromia* in the time of Demosthenes.

βοῖδια is an ancient variant, explained in one of the scholia as referring to Chares, who, after joining Artabazus in Asia, and ravaging Lampsacus and Sigeum with his mercenaries, ἐπεμψεν Ἀθηναίους βούς, ἃς διείλοντο κατὰ φυλάς. But this event (356 B.C.) is not sufficiently recent, and the meaning given to πέμψωσιν and οὔτοι is unsatisfactory. βοῖδια is illustrated by Isocr. *Areop.* (353 B.C.) 7 § 29 οὐδ' ὅποτε μὲν δόξειεν αὐτοῖς, τριακοσίας βούς ἐπεμπον ('drove a long train of 300 oxen'), ὅποτε δὲ τύχοιεν, τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ἐξέλειπον· οὐδὲ τὰς μὲν ἐπιθέτους ἑορτάς, αἷς ἐστίαςίς τις προσεῖη, μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἤγον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγνωτάτοις τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων ἔθνον (this passage implies that ἀγῶς of the great festivals would be attended with sacrifices and therefore with sacrificial banquets).

279. ἀνδρειότατον: εἰρωνικῶς (schol.); [56] § 41 οὕτως ἀνδρείος εἶ, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναλσχυντος, *Hyper. Eux.* § 9. τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν χάριν κτλ.: i.e. 'you are actually grateful besides for receiving what is after all your own,' *Lys.* 27 § 11 ὦν αὐτοὶ λαμβάνετε χάριν ἵστε κτλ.

280. προσοφείλετε: προσ- 'in addition,' adverbial; separable in sense from -οφείλετε. Cp. προσ-έχειν, 'to have besides,' *Plato Rep.* 521 D.

πρός is sometimes printed as a separate word (by Dindorf and Blass) before ἔδοξεν (22 § 75), φυλάττειν (23 § 89), ἡτιμωμένος (27 § 67), ἀτιμῶσαι (37 § 49), μισεῖν (39 § 23); but not in προσ-οφείλειν, προσ-οφλισκάνειν (8 § 12), προσ-δεῖ (1 § 19), προσ-ποριέται (4 § 29), προσ-περιβάλλεται (4 § 9). The separation is impossible in προσ-τιμῆσαι δ' (24 § 114), προσ-ξυνώκησαν (*Thuc.* vi 2), and difficult in προσ-εκβαλεῖν (21 § 122), προσ-απεδίδοντο (41 § 27), προσ-διενείμαντο (19 § 167), προσ-καταβάλλειν, προσ-ομολογεῖν (*Isocr.* 15 § 35). It is quite out of the question in the nouns corresponding to the last two verbs, τὸ προσ-κατάβλημα and ἡ προσ-ομολογία. The Prep. is similarly separable in sense in ἐλλείπειν as used in *Soph. El.* 736, *Eur. El.* 609, and probably in *Thuc.* v 103, 1. On Adverbial πρὸς see 4 § 28 μικρόν τι πρὸς. Cp. Franke in *Philol.* 13 (1858) 613–6.

281. καθείρξαντες, 'cooping you up'; *Aristoph. Eq.* 794 καθείρξας αὐτὸν (Δῆμον) βλέττεις. ἐπάγουσ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα, 'lead you to these pleasures,' like tame animals taken to be fed. *Plato Phaedr.* 338 C οἱ τὰ πεινῶντα θρέμματα θαλλὸν ἢ τινα καρπὸν προσείοντες ἄγουσι (followed by περιάξουν), *Thuc.* vi 86 ἡμᾶς ἐπηγάγεσθε, οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ προσείοντες φόβον ἢ.

ἐπάγουσ(ι) is perhaps less satisfactorily taken as a technical term for 'leading off to the chase,' applied to hounds led to the attack of a boar (so Weil, quoting *Xen. Cyr.* 10, 19, and *Hom. ἐπακτῆρες* 'huntsmen'; cp. also *Aristoph. Vesp.* cited below); 'set you on this scent' is the rendering suggested by Abbott and Matheson.

τιθασεύουσιν χειροήθεις κτλ., 'make you tame and submissive to their hands'; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 704 (Bdelycleon to Philocleon) ἵνα γινώσκῃς τὸν τιθασευτήν, κᾶθ', ὅταν οὗτος σ' ἐπισίξῃ | ἐπὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιν' ἐπιρρύξας, ἀγρίως αὐτοῖς ἐπιπηδᾷς, Xen. *Oec.* 7, 10 ἥδη μοι χειροήθης ἦν ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἐτιθάσεντο, Themistius p. 210 A προσείων ὥσπερ θαλλὸν τὴν βασιλέως φιλανθρωπίαν, ἥ γε τιθασοὺς καὶ χειροήθεις.

§ 32 l. 283. μέγα—φρόνημα, 'a high and generous spirit,' cp. Cic. *Cat.* 3 § 29 *magnos animos*. νεανικόν: here in the good sense, 'brave, generous, high-spirited.' 18 § 313, 21 §§ 12, 131, 201; 54 § 135 (ironical), Plato *Rep.* 503 c νεανικοὶ τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τὰς διανοίας, 425 c, 503 c, 563 e, *Gorg.* 508 d.

284. πράττοντας, 'practising,' further explained by τὰπιτηδεύματα. For the general sense cp. Xen. *Oec.* 4, 1, Plato *Rep.* 495, Aristot. *Pol.* viii (v) 2 § 3 (1337 b), Cic. *de Am.* 32 *nil enim altum, nihil magnificum ac divinum suspicere possunt, qui suas omnes cogitationes obicerunt in rem tam humilem tamque contemptam*, and *de Off.* i 42. ὅποι' ἅττα: note on § 26 l. 231, 1 § 28 l. 263. The text touches on the effect of conduct and habit in the formation of character. Cp. Aristot. *Eth. N.* ii 1, 1 ἡ δ' ἠθικὴ (ἀρετὴ) ἐξ ἔθους περιγίγνεται and 2, 1 (αἱ πράξεις) εἰσὶ κύριαι καὶ τοῦ ποίως γενέσθαι τὰς ἔξεις, Butler's *Analogy* i c. 5 'settled alterations in our temper and character' are produced by 'the power of habits'; and habits, whether passive or active, 'seem produced by repeated acts.'

286. ἔχειν: sc. αὐτοῦς. ταῦτα: probably Nom. (to be supplied below as Acc. after εἰπόντι), § 13 τὴν ἀπέχθειαν . . ζῆμίαν γενέσθαι, 4 § 38, 19 § 228 (Blass). Otherwise it is Acc. after εἰπόντι, though separated from it by μείζων owing to the antithesis between μοι and πεπονηκότων (Weil). μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ(α): 19 § 262 νῆ τὴν Δ., [52] § 9 μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Δ. Cp. Rehdantz *Index* 2, s.v. *Schwurformeln*.

288. τῶν πεπονηκότων = ἡ τοῖς πεπονηκόσιν: cp. 9 § 40, 20 § 135. For the same sense in a feebler form cp. Isocr. 8 §§ 14, 38.

289. παρρησία: 4 § 51, 8 § 32, 9 § 3, 15 § 1, Plato *Gorg.* 461 e (Athens) οὐ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πλείστη ἐστὶν ἐξουσία τοῦ λέγειν, Lucian *Jur. Trag.* c. 19.

§ 33 l. 291. ἀλλὰ νῦν γ(ε): *at nunc certe*, 18 § 191 ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον, 4 §§ 7, 44. On ἀλλὰ apodotic, with ellipse of εἰ μὴ πρότερον, cp. Goodwin *MT.* § 513.

293. **περιουσίαις** : Isocr. 11 § 15 τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τὰς π.
By 'these domestic superfluities' are meant the theoric doles.

294. **ἀφορμαῖς**, 'as a means ('a resource,' 'a point of departure') for'; 1 § 23. **τάξω τῶν ἀγαθῶν**, 'advantages abroad.'

295. **ἴσως ἂν ἴσως** : 8 § 77.

296. **τέλειον** : only in 23 § 200 (= [13] § 24) **τέλειον τὰτύχημα**, and [59] § 60 **καθ' ἱερῶν τελείων**.

297. **λημμάτων**, 'perquisites'; used of petty or illicit gains in 2 § 28, 5 § 12, 8 § 25. **τοῖς ἀσθενούσι παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν σιτίσις διδομένοις**, 'the diet ordered by physicians for invalids.' **σιτία κοῦφα**, or **ἀσθενέστερα**, are contrasted by Hippocrates with **ἰσχυρὰ δῖαιτα** (817 c). **τοῖς** is best taken with **σιτίσις**, and is not needed to complete the sense of **ἀσθενούσι**, which means 'when men are ill' (so Funkhänel and Weil).

298. **παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν** : Plato *Gorg.* 467 c οἱ φάρμακα πίνοντες παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν. **διδομένοις** : 20 § 15 τῶν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν διδομένων. For the Part. separated from the Art. by the Noun cp. 5 § 8 **τάκεῖ χρήματ' ὀφειλόμενα**.

τοῖς is sometimes regarded as doing double duty, being taken with **ἀσθενούσι** as well as with **σιτίσις** (Westermann). **ἀσθενούσι** is bracketed by Cobet and others, but the corresponding participle occurs in the parallel passages *Prooem.* 53, 4, *Lucian de mercede cond.* 5 (cp. *Liban.* iv 821, 24 **ἐοικότας τοῖς νοσοῦσιν**), though not in *Philostr.* V. *Apoll.* 7, 26 (all quoted on p. 67). *Ostermann Philol.* 1858, 755 f agrees with Funkhänel *Neue Jahrb.* 75 (1857) 445 f in regarding **τοῖς τοῖς** as inadmissible in Demosthenes or any other classical author; he also objects to making **τοῖς** stand instead of **τοῖς τοῖς** in Demosthenes, though this use is found in *Thuc.* v 77, 2, *Eur. Hec.* 996, and *Plato Lysis* 205 d. While Funkhänel takes it with **σιτίσις**, Ostermann takes it with **διδομένοις**, making **σιτίσις** a predicate, 'the things that are offered as food.' Cp. *Rehdantz Index* s.v. *participium*.

299. **ἐκέῖν(α)** : τὰ **σιτία**. **οὐτ' ἰσχύν—ἐᾶ** (cp. *Prooem.* 53, 4) : quoted by Athen. 270 b, and imitated by Sallust *Hist., Or. M. Licinii, illis (alimentis carceris) exiguitate mors prohibetur, senescunt vires*; and Symmachus *Ep.* i 23 *parvis nutrimentis quamquam a morte defendimur, nihil tamen ad robustam valetudinem promovemur*. **ἰσχύν** : 9 § 72, 21 § 45, *Prooem.* l.c.; **ἰσχύς** 18 § 303, 21 § 294, [60] § 14 (all the examples in Dem.; cp. note on **παντὶ σθένει** 3 § 6).

300. **ταῦ(τα)** : τὰ **λήμματα**. For the sense of the context cp. *Aristoph. Vesp.* 700 f.

302. **διαρκῇ** : only in [50] § 23 **τροφὴν διαρκῇ**. **ἀπογνόντας**, 'having rejected,' or 'renounced' (them), 6 § 16 **ἀπεγίγνωσκε Θηβαίους**, used absolutely 4 § 42.

303. **ἔστι . . ἐπαυξάνοντα** (6 § 29 **ἦν . . ἀφεστηκότα**) : here

suggested by a desire for symmetry with **τοσαῦτ' ἐστίν**. See note on 2 § 26 l. 240.

§ 34 l. 304. **οὐκοῦν σὺ μισθοφορὰν λέγεις**; 'do you then mean stipendiary service?' i.e. 'do you mean that the sums set apart for the theoric fund should be given us in the form of pay for service?' This implies that those who did *not* serve would lose their allowances. Pay for military service was already customary (Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* i 356²=319 Engl. ed.). Demosthenes desired to apply further funds to this purpose (1 § 19 **τί οὖν**; . . **σὺ γράφεις ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά**; κτλ.) He meets the supposed objection to this transfer of the theoric fund by a prompt rejoinder admitting the fact, but adding that in his view everything should be put on the same footing, so that none of the citizens should receive payment except for services actually rendered, whether in the field or otherwise.

305. **τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν**: 1 § 20, 14 § 23 **μία σύνταξις** 'a uniform and comprehensive system.'

306. **ἀπάντων**: apparently *neuter*, cp. ll. 319 f, 1 § 20 l. 179.

307. **τὸ μέρος**, 'his share,' 'his dividend' (K.), from the public funds. **δοῦν—ὑπάρχου**, 'might be what the state requires,' i.e. 'what the needs of the state require each several citizen to be.' **τοῦθ'** is predicate to **ὑπάρχου**. For the *neuter* applied to persons cp. 25 § 6 **δόξετε τοῦθ'**, **ὅπερ ἐστέ, δικάσται καὶ φύλακες τῶν νόμων εἰσεληλυθέναι**, 57 § 9 **τοῦτο δ' ἦν** (of Eubulides).

308. **ὑπάρχου**: the mood is hard to explain. The Opt. with **ἵνα** is sometimes found after 'a leading verb which implies a reference to the *past* as well as the present,' as in 22 § 11 **τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ὁ νόμος, ἵνα μηδὲ πεισθῆναι μηδ' ἐξαπατηθῆναι γένοιτ'** ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ. There **ἔχει** 'implies the past existence of the law; *the law was made as it is, so that it might not be possible*' etc.; **ἵνα μή** is followed by Opt. after κείται 24 § 145 and after **γέγραπται** § 147 (Goodwin *MT.* § 323); cp. Plato *Rep.* 410 c (**παιδεύειν**) **καθιστάσιν, ἵνα . . θεραπεύοντο**, Isaeus 3 § 21 **τὰς ἐκμαρτυρίας πάντες ποιούμεθα, ἵνα . . μὴ ἐξείη . . ὑμεῖς τε πιστεύετε** (Kühner § 553, 4b). But **ὑπάρχου** can hardly be said 'to depend on a *past* verb of *saying* to be mentally supplied' (Goodwin l.c.); on the contrary, we must clearly understand the present from **λέγεις** in l. 304. Possibly the Opt. is due to the influence of an implied condition such as **εἰ λύετε τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν νόμους** (so Weil). *Optativum intellige de casu cogitato* (Voemel). Heslop explains the Opt. as 'expressing the object contemplated by the orator when he mentally framed his proposition'; with Abbott and Matheson

it 'expresses the result as still remote.' Probably Demosthenes is thinking of some formal proposal published by him before the delivery of this speech; cp. ἤγαγον in § 35 l. 319.

ἔξεστιν ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, 'suppose it possible to be at peace'; similarly (310) συμβαίνει and (313) ἔστι are virtually conditional clauses, which may sometimes be treated as interrogatives, as in § 18 ll. 157, 159, 160, and as (by Voemel) in the text. Cp. 18 §§ 117, 198, 274; 22 §§ 11, 26.

309. οἱκοι μένων βελτίων: sc. ἔστιν or ἔσται, 'by staying at home he will be all the better, because he is withdrawn from the temptation to act dishonourably from indigence.' Here we have the personal construction preferred (as often) to the impersonal, μένειν αὐτὸν βελτιὸν ἔστι. This interpretation is that suggested by Lobeck on Soph. *Aj.* 634 κρείσσω γὰρ "Αἰδὰ κεύθων ἢ νοσῶν μάταν, cp. *OT.* 1368, and accepted by Weil and others. Cp. Thuc. ii 17 τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἀμεινον, Lys. 20 § 4 κρείττων ἦν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ μὴ λητουργήσας ἢ τοσαῦτα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀναλώσας, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* vi 9 κρείττων γὰρ ἂν . . γένοιτο ὁ τοιοῦτος πολίτης ἀποθανών.

οἱκοι μένων βελτίων: sometimes taken in apposition to the subject of ὑπάρχουσι:—(' . . be what the state requires), in the event of peace, by remaining at home and being all the better for it (18 § 257, 45 § 54) . . ; in the event of war, by personal service . . ; if too old for military service, by receiving duly regulated wages for domestic superintendence' (Rehdantz). ὑπάρχων, l. 312, would thus be an echo of ὑπάρχουσι (cp. Westermann). But it is awkward to treat the Adj. βελτίων as parallel to the participles on either side of it. Cp. CFSchnitzer *Eos* 2 (1865) 619.

δὲ ἔνδειαν: 18 § 257, 57 § 45 πολλὰ δουρικὰ καὶ ταπεινὰ πράγματα τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἢ πενία βιάζεται ποιεῖν: Theognis 384-90, Thuc. iii 45, 4. τι . . αἰσχροῖν: preferred to αἰσχροῖν τι, which would have involved *hiatus* either before or after ἀνάγκη, or before ἀπηλλαγμένος.

310. ἀπηλλαγμένος: 14 § 31 ἔν' εὐπορίαν τινα κησάμενος ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης πενίας. In time of peace Demosthenes apparently allows part of the surplus to be spent in promoting the comfort of the poorer citizens.

311. τοιοῦτον: i.e. πόλεμος. στρατιώτης—ὑπάρχων: sc. βελτίων ἔσται.

314. ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας: i.e. over 60; § 4, [13] § 4. ὅσ(α) taken with λαμβάνων alone; cp. 6 § 28 α . . ἀποκρινάμενοι, and Thuc. v 9, 5. ἀτάκτως, 'irregularly,' as a dote from the theoric fund, without doing any recognised duty; l. 318 ἀταξίαν. The Adv. used here alone by Dem.; the Adj. in 4 § 36 and 25 § 15.

315. ἐν ἴσῃ τάξει, 'under the same regulation' (as those of

age for military service), i.e. as a recognition of work actually done. [13] § 4 λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς φημί χρήναι τὸ ἴσον ἕκαστον κτλ.

316. πάντ' ἐφορῶν κτλ., 'by superintending and managing all needful business.' In any case, an Athenian spent the year after the expiration of liability to military service in discharging the duties of a *δαιτητής* or arbitrator (Aristot. *Const. of Athens* 53 § 3), and he was still entitled to receive pay for attendance at the law-courts, the Council, and the public Assembly.

ἐφορῶν: 25 § 11 πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐφορᾶν (of Δίκη), the only other example of the Present in Demosthenes.

διοικῶν: the Verb is used of the duties of an Athenian envoy 18 § 277, and of Athenian legislation 24 § 92.

§ 35 l. 317. ὅλως, 'in short'; cp. 1 § 5, 2 §§ 7, 14. οὐτ' ἀφελῶν—πλὴν μικρῶν, 'having made only a small diminution or addition' (in the total expenditure). Demosthenes implies that, under his proposed reform, about the same total sum will be paid to the citizens, but the *principles* of the payment will be better organised. 21 § 189 τὰ δ' ὄντα εἰς ὑμᾶς πλὴν πάνν μικρῶν ἅπαντ' ἀνήλωκα, and [Xen.] quoted on p. 68.

πλὴν μικρῶ, 'only to a small extent,' is preferred by Blass (in his ed. of Rehdantz) and is taken with τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀνελών. But μικρῶ in Demosthenes (except when used as an Adj.) is almost always found with a Comparative, four times with πρότερον, twice with πλείους or πλείω, once with ὕστερον; we also have μικρῶ ἄνωθεν, never πλὴν μικρῶ.

πλὴν μικρὸν τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀνελών is Bekker's text (1 § 24); *nisi quod paululum temeritatem coercui* (Sauppe), 'only removing a little the irregularity that exists' (Heslop); i.e. Demosthenes had not proposed any new laws, he only desired to put a check on an irregular organisation. For this purpose he had suggested the repeal of certain laws (§ 10). The exaggeration in οὐτ' ἀφελῶν οὔτε προσθείς is (on this view) corrected by πλὴν μικρὸν in the next clause, which reduces to a harmless minimum the proposed improvement in organisation. Sauppe objects to joining πλὴν μικρὸν with the *previous* context (as Bekker did in 1825 and 1835, and also Rüdiger), (1) because this phrase does not suit προσθείς, as Demosthenes had really added *nothing* new; (2) because τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀνελών, if it stands alone, means the same as εἰς τάξιν ἡγαγον τὴν πόλιν.

It seems best to regard τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀνελών as leading up to εἰς τάξιν ἡγαγον, which is not really synonymous with it, but gives the *result* of the removal of disorder in the establishment of order, Plato *Tim.* 3 A εἰς τάξιν αὐτὸν ἡγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας. It also seems best to regard ἀφελῶν and προσθείς not as referring to *laws* but to *payments*. This view is supported by λαμβάνων etc. in the previous context.

318. εἰς τάξιν ἡγαγον τὴν πόλιν: the Aor. refers *either* to the previous context, in which Demosthenes virtually proposed that the theoric fund should be assigned only to those who did their share of duty towards the state; *or* to the intended result of proposals made by him to the same effect on some previous occasion, possibly just before the present

speech, in the shape of public notice of a motion to carry out the suggested reform. Previous *debates* seem to be suggested by the phrase combined with the subsequent Aor. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου—εἶπον. Cp. Blass *Att. Ber.* III i 315² n. 3.

321. ἔχοι (ποιεῖν) and εἴη: Opt. in dependent questions after secondary tense (Goodwin *MT.* § 669, 2).

322. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου: best taken with εἶπον, especially as ἐγώ is placed between. It is a reply to the objection that he was virtually proposing a *general* μισθοφορά (l. 304). Tournier and Weil take the words with ὡς δεῖ νέμειν, 'I said that, under no circumstances, should you' etc., in which case ἐγώ is oddly placed. ἐγώ must be regarded as virtually coming immediately after ὅπου or before εἶπον; but for *hiatus*, either of these positions would have been obvious. μηδέν acquires further emphasis by being placed before ἐγώ.

323. τὰ τῶν ποιούντων = ἃ δεῖ νέμειν τοῖς ποιοῦσιν. εἶπον, 'proposed'; Thuc. ii 24, 1, viii 15, 1; cp. note on (319) ἤγαγον.

324. ἀργεῖν, 'to do nothing,' 'to be lazy.' σχολάζειν, 'to have nothing to do,' 'take one's ease,' 'be at leisure.' ἀπορεῖν, 'to be helpless, perplexed, or destitute,' i.e. *pauperised* by the theoric dole:—τὸ λαμβάνειν τοὺς δύο ὀβολοὺς, ἐξὸν πλουτεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου (schol.) οἱ τοῦ δέινος νικῶσι ξένοι: probably a reference to a recent success of some commander of mercenaries, such as Charidemus. This had led to the talk about 'taking revenge on Philip' (§ 1). Cp. Grote c. 88 viii 82 f, Baran *Wiener Studien* vii 213.

325. πυνθάνεσθαι: of hearing gossip, as in 4 § 10.

§ 36 l. 326. οὐχὶ μέφομαι τὸν—ὑμῶν: cp. 4 § 27, where similar language of condescending approbation is applied to a leader of mercenaries, Menelaus.

328. ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν: the oft-repeated refrain in all the speeches against Philip, with their constant appeal for *personal service*. πράττειν seems to refer to a more continuous and deliberate course of action than ποιεῖν in l. 327. There is little (if any) difference between these verbs in 4 § 5 (see note). In 4 §§ 2, 7, and in 9 § 5, πάντα πράττειν is contrasted with οὐδὲν ποιεῖν, while in 9 § 17 πάντα . . ποιοῦντα is combined with ὅσα πράττει.

329. παραχωρεῖν: [13] § 4 στρατεύεσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ μηδενὶ τούτου παραχωρεῖν, § 22 (and 23 § 198) τῶν ἔργων τούτων π. τῶν τιμῶν, 18 § 273 and especially § 68, where τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας . . παραχωρήσαι comes after τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήματα.

330. τῆς τάξεως, ἦν . . τῆς ἀρετῆς: preferred to the obvious but awkward equivalents, τῆς τῆς ἀρετῆς τάξεως (or τῆς τάξεως τῆς ἀρετῆς), ἦν. The metaphor of a place assigned to a soldier in the ranks is often applied to other posts of duty, whether in politics or in life in general, [13] § 34 αἰσχροὺς λιπεῖν τὴν τοῦ φρονήματος τάξιν, ἦν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι παρέδωκαν, 15 § 32 τὴν τ. τῆς πολιτείας, and § 33 τοὺς τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων τ. ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ παραδεδομένην λείποντας, 18 § 138 τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον τ. πολιτεύεσθαι, and § 173 τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τ. ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οἶκ ἔλιπον. Cp. Plato *Apol.* 28 E, Cic. *de Sen.* 73. ἦν—κατέλιπον: 9 § 74 ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἐκτίσαντο καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων, Isocr. 6 § 12 (366 B.C.) τὴν δόξαν, ἦν ἡμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων κατέλιπον, Thuc. ii 36, 2; 62, 3.

331. ἀρετῆς, *virtutis*, 'valour' or (as a general term) 'duty.' πολλῶν—κινδύνων, 'many glorious perils' of war = 'many glorious battles'; Thuc. i 70, 5 (the Athenians) ταῦτα μετὰ πόνων πάντα καὶ κινδύνων . . μοχθοῦσιν.

333. σχεδόν, *fere*, 2 § 25, 3 § 9, 'nearly all'; often used in dismissing a topic in a peroration or elsewhere, as σχ. εἴρηται or σχ. ἀκηκόατε 22 §§ 27, 60; [44] §§ 14, 16, 31, 60; [88] §§ 39, 48, *Ep.* 1 § 11, Plato *Apol.* 34 B, Isocr. 19 § 42, Hyper. 3 § 19, Cic. *Tusc.* ii 67 *haec fere hoc tempore putavi dicenda*, and *de Nat. Deor.* ii 168.

334. ἔλοισθ(ε) does not affect the mood of μέλλει. If the latter had been assimilated into the Opt. it would have changed its time (Goodwin *MT.* § 561). συνοίσειν—μέλλει: see note on 1 § 28.

'It is worthy of remark that the perorations, if by this we mean the very concluding sentences of all, in the Greek orations, are calm and tame [ll. 333-5], compared with the rest of their texture, and especially with their penultimate portions, which rise to the highest pitch of animation [ll. 329-32]. There seems to have been a rule enjoined by the same severe taste which forbade any expression of passion in a statue, that the orator should close his speech in graceful repose' (BROUGHAM *Works* vii 24 and 184). 'Wherever pity, terror, anger, or any passionate feeling is uttered or invited, this tumult is resolved in a final calm; and where such tumult has place in the peroration, it subsides before the last sentences of all. The ending of the speech *On the Crown* . . is exceptional and unique. As a rule, the very end is calm; not so much because the speaker feels this to be necessary if he is to leave an impression of personal dignity, but rather because the sense of an ideal beauty in humanity and in human speech governs his effort as a whole, and makes him desire that where this effort is most distinctly viewed as a whole—namely at the close—it should have the serenity of a completed harmony' (JEBB *Attic Orators* i ciii).

GREEK INDEX

TO THE NOTES

The numbers refer to the pages

For Proper Names in general see English Index

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>ἀγαθὴ τύχη 203
 ἀγαπητόν <i>c. Dat.</i> 215
 ἀγαπήσας <i>c. Dat.</i> 140
 ἀγαπῶντες ἑάν 216
 ἀγγέλλω : ἡγγέλθη ἀσθενῶν
 190
 ἀγοράν, εἰς τήν 97
 ἄγων καὶ φέρων 106
 ἀγώνων, ἔμπειρος 171
 ἀδεῶς καρπούμενοι 151
 ἀδιόρθωτος 111
 ἀεί 116, 162, 183 l. 284
 ἀήθεις τοῦ κατακούειν 150
 ἄθλα 76, 180
 ἀθροίσαντα, εἰς ταυτό 203
 ἀθυμητέον 72
 ἀθυμοτέρους 198
 ἀθώους καθιστᾶσιν 198
 αἰρῶ : ἡρῶ μέγας 162
 αἰρῶ : αἰρεῖσθαι, ἀντί 207 ; ἐλέ-
 σθαι, ἀντί 125 ; ἐλοίμην 176 ;
 ἐλοισθε 224
 αἰσχρόν τι 221 ; αἰσχρῶν ᾠ-
 σμάτων 173 ; τῶν αἰσχρῶν,
 τῶν αἰσχίστων, ἔστι 158
 αἰσχύνη, τῶν πραγμάτων 153 ;</p> | <p>ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων 80 ;
 αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν 117 ; ὠφλή-
 κατε 159
 αἰτιᾶσθαι 179 ; αἰτιωμένων
 ἀλλήλους 178
 αἰτίους, οὐ τοὺς 142
 ἀκαιρία and καιρός 150
 ἀκεραίου, τῆς οἰκείας 154
 ἀκμή 117
 ἀκολουθεῖ, ὁ στρατηγός 94
 ἀκούειν and εἰδέναι 73 ; ἰδεῖν
 195 ; ἀκούω, of historical
 tradition, 92 f, 207 ; ἤκουον
 149 ; ἀκηκοέναι 159
 ἀκρᾶσία 172
 ἀκρόπολιν, ἀνήγαγον εἰς τήν
 209
 ἀληθείας, μετά 159
 ἀλλά, resumptive, 212 ; ἀλλὰ
 μήν 118, 149 ; ἀλλὰ νῦν γε
 218
 ἀλλήλοις, peculiar use of, 91
 ἄλλος and ἕτερος 202
 ἀλλότριος)(οἰκεῖος 209
 ἄλλως 172 ; τὴν ἄλλως 206 ;
 ἄλλως τε καὶ 132</p> |
|--|---|

ἄλυσιτελές 140
 ἄμ' ἀκηκόαμεν . . καὶ 112
 ἀμέλεια 86
 ἀμύθητος 107
 ἄν: (1) *c. Ind.* ἐπισχῶν ἄν . .
 ἡσυχίαν ἄν ἦγον 72; ἐβουλό-
 μην ἄν and . . ἄν ἡδίων
 εἶχον 123; (2) *c. Opt.* οἶον
 ἄν βούλοισθε 74; . . ἄν . .
 ἐπιστάντες . . διοικήσασθε
 82; ἄς ἄν ποιήσαιτο 130; ἄν
 τις εἴποι 140; (ὥς) οὐκ ἄν γέ-
 νοιντο 163; (3) *c. Inf.* δοκεῖτε
 . . ἄν . . βουλεύσασθαι; (4)
c. Part. τῆς περιστάσης ἄν
 194; σιωπῶ, πόλλ' ἄν ἔχων
 εἰπεῖν: ἄν repeated 72, 135
 ἄν (=ἔάν): ἄν τε . . ἄν τε
 108; ἄν ἐνδῶ καιρόν 88; ἄν
 τύχη 165; ἄν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη
 102; ἄν, position of, 100,
 118 ll. 393, 403
 ἀναβάλλειν 83; ἀναβάλλεται
 ποιήσειν 195
 ἀναγκάζεσθαι 183
 ἀνάγκην, ἔλθωμεν εἰς 142; τὰς
 ἀνάγκας 181
 ἀνάγω: ἀνήγαγον 209
 ἀναιρῶ: τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀνελῶν
 222; ἀναιρήσεσθαι 148
 ἀναθημάτων (κάλλη) 211
 ἀναλήψεσθε 78
 ἀναλώσας λάθῃ 137
 ἀναμιμνησκομένοις 73
 ἀνάστασιν, νομίζειν 157
 ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι 206
 ἀνδραποδιστῆς 120
 ἀνδρείοτατον, τό 217
 ἀνεχαίτισεν 164
 ἄνθρωπος 79, 128
 ἀνθῶ: ἤνθησε 165
 ἀνοια 162; ἀνοίαν ὀφλίσκάνειν
 152
 ἀνταίρειν: ἀντήρατε 177
 ἀντεμβιβάζειν 113
 ἀντέχει 165

ἀντί . . αἰρεῖσθαι 207; ἐλέσθαι
 125
 ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα 112
 ἀντιλάβεσθε 147
 ἀντιληπτέον 140
 ἀντίρροπος 136
 ἄνω κάτω 116, 170
 ἀξία: παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν 150;
 ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν 159
 ἀξιόπιστος 129
 ἀξιούτε 200
 ἀξιόχρεως 212
 ἀόριστος 111
 ἀπειρηκότων χρήμασι 194
 ἀπέχθεια 200
 ἀπέχθωμαι 206
 ἀπηγγέλθη πολιορκῶν 189
 ἀπήλανον 173
 ἀπηλλαγμένοι πραγμαμάτων 134
 ἀπηρητημένοι 83
 ἄπιστον ἢ τυραννίς 131; ἄπιστα
 τὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν 148
 ἀπίστως ἔχοντα 168
 ἀπλῶς 77, 149
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν πολεμεῖ
 συμμάχων 106
 ἀποβλέψητε 180; ἀποβλέψω
 185
 ἀπογιγνώσκω: ἀπεγνώκατε 117;
 ἀπογόνοντας 219
 ἀποδώσετε 146, 163
 ἀποκλίνειν *intrans.* 139
 ἀπολείπετε, οὐδέν 115
 ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει 75; ἀπο-
 λέσθαι, *metaphorical*, 199
 ἀπόμισθος 120
 ἀπόντων, τῶν 204
 ἀπορεῖν 223
 ἀπόρρητον 129, 161
 ἀποστερεῖν 122; ἀποστερήσεται
 149; ἀπεστερήμεθα 213
 ἀπόστολος 110, 191
 ἀποστροφή 79
 ἀποτριψόμεθα 137
 ἀποφαίνεσθαι, γνώμην 72
 ἀποχρῆν 117

- ἄρα 211
 ἀργεῖν 223 ; ἀργοῦντα 176
 ἀρετῆς, (τάξις) τῆς 224
 Ἀρύββας 30 *n*
 ἀρπάσαντας τὰ ὄπλα 206
 ἀρχαίων ἀπέστησαν, τῶν 141
 ἀρχάς, τὸ κατ' 138
 ἀσθενοῦσι 219
 ἀσκῶ : ἡσκήκαμεν 213
 ἀσχόλων ὄντων, Θηβαίων 212
 ἄτακτος 111 ; ἀτάκτως 221
 ἀτακτοῦντας, τοὺς 198
 ἀτοπωτάτων, τῶν 152
 Ἀττικιανοῖς, ἐν τοῖς 27 *n*
 ἀτυχῆς and ἄφρων 207
 αὖ 171
 αὔξειν, τὸ κοινόν 212
 αὐτάρκη (ψηφίσματα) 200
 αὐτόματος 132, 135
 αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα 75
 αὐτός : αὐτοὶ στρατευόμενοι 210 ;
 αὐτοὺς in next clause to οἷς
 209 ; αὐτῶν = ἀλλήλων 81
 ἀφελῶν)(προσθεῖς 222
 ἀφίημι : ἀφείτε 190
 ἀφίστημι : ἀπέστησαν 141
 ἀφορμὴ 150 ; 100, 176, 219
 ἄφρων and ἀτυχῆς 207
 ἀφύλακτος 88
 βαδίζειν ὅποι βούλεται 138 ;
 δεῦρο βαδίζοντα 151
 βάρβαρος 202, 210 l. 217
 ασιλεὺς, the king of Persia,
 121
 βεβαίαν (δύναμιν) 164
 βέλτιον ἐχόντων 184
 βῆμα 119
 Βοηδρόμια 216
 βοηθεία 84, 103, 127
 βοηεῖν, ἐτέροις αὐτόν 195 ;
 εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε 191 ; (παρα-
 σκευάσασθαι) ὅπως . . βοη-
 θήσετε 127
 βοηθητέον 143
 βοησόμενοι 182
 βοῦδια 217 *n*
 βούλομαι and ἐθέλω 126, 174 ;
 ὃ βούλεται, . . οἶεται 205 ;
 τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι 187
 βραβεύειν 213
 βραδυτῆς 79, 113
 γάρ, due to ellipse of previous
 clause, 191 l. 59
 γε 84, 95, 127, 149, 200
 γέγονεν 'is or has been
 possible' 186, 204
 γελασθῆναι 173
 γέλως 95
 γενναίων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων 205
 Γεραιστός or Γεραστός 15 *n*
 γίγνεσθαι : ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης
 γενέσθαι γνώμης 76 ; ὑμῶν
 αὐτῶν γενέσθαι 77 ; ὑμῶν
 αὐτῶν γενομένους 183
 γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι 72 ; ἐπὶ
 τῆς τοιαύτης γενέσθαι γνώμης
 76 ; γνώμης καὶ κακοδαι-
 μονίας 173 ; ἀπηρητημένοι ταῖς
 γνώμας 83 ; οὕτω τὰς γνώ-
 μας ἔχειν 85
 γνώριμος 209
 γνῶτε καὶ αἴσθησθε 140
 γράφεις 146 ; γραφεῖν 200 ;
 τὸν γράφοντα 199 ; γέγραφα
 105
 γυμνασίάρχος 111
 δεδαπάνησθε Middle 153
 δέδοικα μὴ φανῶμεν 141
 δεδόχθαι 88
 δεῖ and δεόντων 147
 δείγματα 173
 δεικνύειν 167
 δεῖνα, ὁ 184 ; τοῦ δεινός 223
 δεινός 'clever' 128 ; δειναὶ *c.*
 Ἰηφ. 'apt to' 174
 δέλξειν, δοκεῖ 174
 δέον 185 ; εἰς δέον τι and ἐν
 δέοντι 17 *n*
 δέος, ἔστι μάλιστα τοῦτο 128

δεσπότης 130
 δῆ, resumptive, 90 ; λέγω δὴ
 κεφάλαιον 183
 δῆπου 148, 195, 202
 διὰ τούτων 50 *n*, 162, 215 ;
 δι' ἔνδειαν 221 ; διὰ τοῦτο
 'for this purpose' 187
 διαδοχῆς, ἐκ 91
 διαθέσθαι 170
 διαλεχθῆναι, ὑμῖν 160
 διαλλαγαί 157
 διαλύω : διέλυσεν 164
 διαρκῆς 219
 διασπᾶν τὰς πολιτείας 121
 διαφέρει = μέλει 81
 διάφορα, τὰ 152
 δίδωμι : διδόντων 82 ; δώσοιεν
 149 ; δόντες λόγον 181
 διεξελήλυθεν, πάντα 160
 διεξιόντα 159
 διερωτῶντες 207
 διῴστημι : διεστάναι 181
 δίκαιος λογιστῆς 135 ; δικαίου
 πολίτου κρίνω 207 ; τὰ δίκαια
 213 ; ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων 4 § 3 ;
 ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων
 177
 διοικῶν 81, 222
 διόπερ 150, 204
 διώκειν, τὰ συμβάντα 114
 δοκεῖν, personal construction
 of, 102 ; δεδόχθαι 88
 δουλῶ : δεδουλωμένοι 163
 δύναμαι : δύναται λογίσασθαι
 178 ; εἰπεῖν δυνάμενοι 201 ;
 δυνηθεῖμεν 84
 δύναμιν τινα κεκτημέν-ους 157,
 -οι 193 ; δυνάμει 200 ; δυνά-
 μεις 113
 δυσχερές, τι 193
 ἐάσαντες (πάντα) 202
 ἐγγύθεν 195
 ἐγκλημάτων, τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦς
 133
 ἐγχωρεῖ, οὐκέτι 117

ἐθέλω and βούλομαι 126, 174 ;
 ἐθέλω and θέλω 78 ; ἐθέλησαι
 132, and ἐθέλησητε 77 ('re-
 solve')
 εἰ δεῖ . . εἰπεῖν 180 ; εἰ (= *ὅτι*)
 οὐκ ἠθέλησατε 177 ; εἰ *c.*
 Fut. 143, 153 ; εἰ μή *c.*
 Fut. 118, 152 ; εἰ τις followed
 by τούτους 171
 εἶδεν καλῶς 76
 εἶδῃτε and ἴδῃτε 2 *n*
 εἰεν 91
 εἰμί : ἔστιν repeated 119, 164 ;
 εἰσί repeated 88 ; τι τῶν
 ὄντων 186
 εἶνεκα γε ψηφισμάτων 200 ;
 παντὸς εἵνεκα 156
 εἰπέ μοι *c.* *Pl.* 80 ; εἰπάτω
 202 ; εἶπον 'proposed' 223 ;
 εἰπὼν 199 ; εἰπόντι 200 ;
 εἰπεῖν δυνάμενοι 201
 εἶπερ *c.* *Inf. Fut.* 167 ; εἶπερ
 ποτέ 187 ; εἶπερ ἔστιν 204
 εἰρήνην, ἐπράξαμεν 193
 εἰρωνεία 76, 113
 εἰς ἅπαξ 165 ; εἰς δέον 84 ; εἰς
 δέον τι 115 ; εἰς οὐδὲν δέον
 213 ; εἰς τοῦτο *c.* *Gen.* 113,
 120 ; εἰς πᾶν *c.* *Gen.* 188
 εἰσφέρειν 77, 178, 179, 183 ;
 εἰσεφέρετε 181
 εἶτα 138, 198
 εἰωθότες, οἱ 72
 ἐκ διαδοχῆς 91 ; ἐκ πτωχῶν
 πλούσιοι 214 ; ἐκ τοῦ παρ-
 εληλυθότος χρόνου 72 ; τῶν
 ἐκ τῆς χώρας 153
 ἕκαστος *c.* *Pl.* 77 ; ἕκαστοι
 180
 ἑκατομβαιῶν 189
 ἕκδηλος 176
 ἐκεῖθεν πόλεμον, τόν 141
 ἐκεῖνο ἀπορῶ 187
 ἐκεῖσ' εἰσὶν 116
 ἐκκαλέσαιο 117
 ἐκλαλεῖ 152

- ἐκλέγειν : ἐξέλεξε 107
 ἐκνευρισμένοι 215
 ἐκόντων, τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἥρξαν
 209
 ἐκπέμφητε 95, 180
 ἐκπολεμ-ῶσαι, -ῆσαι 27 *n* and
 132, 194
 ἐκφέρω : ἐξήνεγκε τὸν πόλεμον
 147
 ἐκφεύγω : ἐκπεφευγέναι 187
 ἐλέγχω 159
 ἔλεγχον δώσει 85
 ἐλλείμματα 179
 ἐλλείποντάς τι 205 ; ἐλλείψει
 205
 Ἑλλησι, (ὑπακούειν) προσῆκον
 βάρβαρον 210
 ἐλπίζειν *c. Inf. Fut.* 77, 178
 ἐλπίς 'expectation' 140 ; ἐλπίς
 ἦν *c. Inf. Aor.* 73, 140 *f* ;
 τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας
 119 ; ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν 165
 ἐμπόδισμα 193
 ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι 114
 ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστί 122 ; ἐν μέσῳ 76 ;
 ἐν ὁργῇ ποιείσθε ; ἐν ὀλίγῳ
 (and ἐν λόγῳ) 60 and
 203
 ἐναντίον 116
 ἐνδῶ καιρὸν, ἄν 88
 ἐνεῖμι : ἐνούσας 176
 ἐνθένδε 117
 ἐνθυμεῖται 117 ; ἐνθυμηθείητε
 102
 ἐνθυμητέον 73
 ἐνι = ἐνεστι 78, 92, 159
 ἐνὶ λόγῳ and ἐν ὀλίγῳ 60 and
 203 ; ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ 134
 ἐνους, limiting use of, 198
 ἐντελῆ, μισθὸν 100 ; ἐντελῇ
 πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν 105
 ἐνώχλει 191
 ἐξ ἀδόξων ἔντιμοι 214 *f* ; ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς 83 ; ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ
 πολὺς 74
 ἐξαγγέλλοντες 88
 ἐξαπατῆσαι 205
 ἔξω and σχῆσειν 135
 ἐξελεῖν 161
 ἐξελέλεγκται, ποιῶν 163
 ἐξέσται 183 ; μένειν ἐξῆν 202 ;
 ἐξόν 212
 ἐξετασθήσεται 174
 ἐξίεναι κατὰ μέρος 184
 ἔξω 153 ; τοῦ πάσχειν κακῶς
 ἔξω 106 ; ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας
 221
 ἐπαγγέλλεται 85
 ἐπάγουσ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα 217
 ἐπάλλξει 213
 ἐπανάγκη 183
 ἐπειδὴν 198 ; ἐπειδὴν τί γένη-
 ται ; 80
 ἐπειδὴ and ἐπεὶ 162
 ἔπειτα, without δέ, 73
 ἐπέχω : ἐπισχών 72
 ἐπηρμένος 122
 ἐπηύξηται 82
 ἐπί : (1) *c. Gen.* ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύ-
 τῃς γενέσθαι γνώμης 76 ;
 μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων 79 ; ἐπὶ
 πολλῶν 157 ; ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου
 168 ; ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν
 210
 (2) *c. Dat.* ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν
 90 ; ἐπ' ἀδόλοις and ἐπὶ τῷ
 πεπεῖσθαι 124 ; τοῖς μεγάλοις
 141 ; ταῖς ἐλπίσιν 165 ; τοῖς
 πράγμασιν 167 ; τοῖς ἔργοις
 170, 210 ; τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις
 170 ; ἐφ' ἅπασιν 177.
 (3) *c. Acc.* ἐφ' ἃν ἐκπλέωμεν
 113 ; ἐφ' ἃ δεῖ 150 ; ἐπὶ τὴν
 τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν 168 ; ἐπὶ
 τὸ λυσitteλοῦν 180
 ἐπικῶς 129
 ἐπικλῖναι πρὸς 195
 ἐπιλαμβάνω : ἐπιλημμένοι 212
 ἐπιμελησόμενοι 109
 ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν Διονυσίων 108 *n*
 ἐπισκευάζομεν (τὰς ὁδοὺς) 214
 ἐπισκοτεῖ 174

ἐπιστολή of Philip to the Euboeans 114; ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμεῖν 102
 ἐπιστολιμαῖος 88
 ἐπισφαλεστέραν (δύναμιν) 169
 ἐπιτάττειν 183
 ἐπιτείχισμα 75
 ἐπιχειροτονεῖν 102
 ἐπόπτῃς 94
 ἔργῳ 114; ἔργα)(λόγος 43 n; ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις 170
 ἐρημία 212; c. *Part. Fut.* 122
 ἐρίζειν καὶ διεστάναι 181
 ἔρομαι: ἡρετό τις 118
 ἐρωμένως 194
 ἐσκεμμένος Middle 126
 ἔστι . . ἐπανξάνοντα 219
 ἕτερος 143; ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε 81
 ἐτησίαι 103
 ἔτοιμος 101
 εὖ πράττειν 150
 εὐεργέτημα 136
 εὐθυναί 154; εὐθυνῶν 120
 εὐμενές, τὸ τῶν θεῶν 119
 εὐνοίας, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων 136; τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν 176
 εὐξασθαι 203
 εὐπραξίαι 174
 εὐρίσκειν 180; εὐρήσει τὰ σαθρά 118
 εὐτρεπεῖς 88
 εὐτρεπίσας 138; εὐτρεπίσαι 200
 εὐτρεπῶς 147
 εὐχερῶς 205
 ἐφίστημι: ἐπιστάντες 82
 ἐφοδίων (δι' ἀπορίαν) 206
 ἐφορμεῖν, *metaphorical*, 193
 ἐφορῶν, πάντ' 222
 ἔχει c. *Inf.* 'can' 203; ἔχον φύσιν Adj. to φύσις; ἐχόντων ὡς ἔχουσι 194
 ἐώμενοι 170
 ἔως 72, 147; ἔως ἂν 84

ζηλῶ: ἐξήλωκεν 169
 ζημία 153 l. 252
 ζημιώσεσθαι 153
 ζητοῦντες, τὸν λόγον 105
 ἦ ἄλλος τις 152; ἦ δειξάτω 163; ἦ φρασάτω 213
 ἡγεμῶν (and ἐπιμελητῆς) συμμορίας 181 f
 ἦδη 79, 85, 127
 ἦδιον εἶχον, ἂν 23 and 123
 ἦκομεν in Plupf. sense 133
 ἦλθε, of news, 190
 ἡλικίην . . ὡς καλῶς 73
 ἡλικία 77, 90, 154, 221
 ἡμεῖς 101, 127; ἡμεῖς κακέينوι πρὸς ἡμᾶς 193
 ἡμῖς 85
 ἦν not found in Dem. 4
 ἦνικ' ἂν c. *Subj.* 129; c. *Opt.* 103
 Ἡραῖον τεῖχος 188
 ἡττηνται 202
 θαρρεῖν τινά 193
 θαυμάζω εἰ 117, 177, 204; μὴ θαυμάσητε 196
 θαυμαστὸν εἰ 177
 θαυμαστοποιοί 173
 θεία (εὐεργεσία) 157
 θέλω and ἐθέλω 78; ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ 78; ἂν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσι 174
 θεωρικόν 144-6 n; θεωρικά 198, 204; θεωρικῶν 197, 216
 θεωρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν 160
 θορύβου γιγνομένου 189
 θρυλῶ: ἐθρύλουν 132, 194; θρυλούμενον 161
 ἱατρῶν, παρὰ τῶν 219
 ἰδεῖτε καὶ θεάσησθε 74; ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν 195
 ἰδίους πολέμους 180; ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις 170
 ἱερὰ τριήρης 107

- ἱεροποιοί 96
 ἱκανός 86 ; ἱκανοί (νόμοι) 197
 ἵνα : (1) *c. Subj.*, after primary tenses 88, 187 ; after secondary tenses 177, 191 ; (2) *c. Opt.* (after λέγεις) ἵν' ὑπάρχῃ 200 ; (3) *c. Ind.* ἵν' ἦν 97
 ἱππαγωγὸς τριήρης 85 f
 ἱππαρχοί 97 ; ἱππαρχος, εἰς Ἀθήνῃον 98
 ἱππῆς, normal number of, 85
 ἴση τάξει, ἐν 221
 ἴσθ' ὅτι 82
 ἴστημι : οὐ στήσεται 118
 ἰσχύς 219
 ἰσχύση (ὅταν) 164
 ἴσως (1) 'in a spirit of brotherhood' 212 ; (2) 'perhaps' 87, 122, 219

 καθείρξαντες 217
 καθέλκειν τριήρεις 189
 καθήκοντος χρόνου, τοῦ 108
 καθήμεθα 176 ; κάθησθε 178 ; καθάμεθα 118 ; καθημένους 80
 καθίσατε, νομοθέτας 196
 καθίσταμεν, τριηράρχους 112 ; καθιστᾶσιν 198 ; καταστὰς ὑφ' ὑμῶν 105
 καθυφείμεθα 194
 καὶ repeated in relative clause 78 ; καὶ γάρ τοι 76 ; καὶ . . δέ 201 ; καὶ δὴ 83, 167 ; καὶ εἰ 173 ; καὶ μάλ' ἀκριβῶς οἶδα 186 ; καὶ νῦν 202 ; καὶ ταῦτα 132
 καινός : λέγεται τι καινόν ; 81 ; καινὴν παρασκευὴν 83
 καιρὸς ἔκει 135 ; ὁ κ. αὐτός 191 ; ὁ παρὼν κ.—πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ βουλῆς δεῖται 187 ; ὁ παρὼν κ.—φωνὴν ἀφίεις 127 ; ἂν ἐνδῶ καιρὸν 88 ; τὴν ἀκαιρίαν — καιρὸν νομίσαντες 150 ; καιρὸν τοῦ βοηθεῖν 190 ;
 τίνα καιρὸν . . τοῦ παρόντος βελτίω ζητεῖτε ; 201 ; πραγμάτων καιροί 113 ; ἐφορμεῖν τοῖς—καιροῖς 193
 καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο 82
 κακοδαιμονία 173
 κακοῦργοι 120 l. 429 n
 κακῶς φρονεῖν 150
 κάλλη . . ἱερῶν 210
 καλῶς ἔχει 208 ; καλῶς ποιούντες 153 f ; πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε [καλῶς] 19
 κᾶν, for καὶ κᾶν, 89 ; κᾶν μικρὰν δύναιμι 169
 καρποῦσθαι 149
 κατὰ : (1) *c. Gen.* κατ' ἐκείνου . . ὀνειδῆ 159
 (2) *c. Acc.* αὐτὴ καθ' αὐτήν 169 ; καθ' ἕνα *c. Gen.* 178 ; καθ' ἕκαστον *c. Gen.* 89, 140 ; κατὰ μικρόν 176 ; κατὰ συμμορίας 181 ; κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν 191
 (3) *in composition* κατ-εργα-θυμμένα etc. 78
 κατακλείειν 105
 καταλλαγαί 130
 καταπολεμῶν 81
 καταρρεῖ, περὶ αὐτά 165
 κατασκευάζω : κατεσκευάσαι 161 ; κατεσκευασμένοι Middle 215
 καταστρέφεται 138 ; καταστρεψάμενῳ 195
 κατέπτηχε 78
 κατεργαθυμμένα 78
 κατέστραπται 76, 79, 117
 κατέχω : καθέξειν τὰ πράγματα 163
 κατορθοῦν, τό 174
 κάτῳθεν, τά 165
 κείμεν', ἐν μέσῳ (ἄθλα) 76
 κεκλειμένων (τῶν ἐμπορίων) 45 n and 170
 κενός, τριήρεις 118 ; ναὺς 190 ; ψήφισμα κενόν 119
 κέφαλαιον 183 ; Pl. 209

κινδυνεύουσιν (?) (for πολε-
μοῦσιν) 26 and 131
κίνδυνοι 224
κινεῖται 175
κοινόν 183 ; τὸ κοινόν 211
κόλακες 172
κομιδῇ 148
κομειῖσθε 77
κονιῶμεν (τὰς ἐπάλξεις) 214
κοπτόμενοι 170
κορδακισμός 172
κρατήσητε, πρὶν ἂν τῶν πρα-
γμάτων 179
κρείττω τῶν φθονούντων, δόξαν
210 ; οὐχ οὗτος κρείττων ;
204
κρίνατε 83 ; κρινόντων 178 ;
κρίνεται περὶ θανάτου 120
κύκλος, rhetorical figure, 120 l.
433 ; κύκλῳ 75 ; κύκλῳ περι-
στοιχίζεται 80 (cp. Aristoph.
Vesp. 699 ἐγκεκύκλησαι)
κωλύον, τό 138 ; τῶν κωλυ-
όντων 122
λανθάνω, tense of Part. with,
137
λάχωσιν . . ἐπιμελησόμενοι 108 f
λέγω 'I mean' 153 ; = κελεύω
183 ; λέγειν 'to propose'
83 ; λέξω (and ἀναγνώσομαι)
101 ; λέγεται τι καινόν ; 81
λήμματα 180, 219
λήρος : κρηνὰς καὶ λήρους 214
λησταί 172
ληστεύειν 92
λίαν πικρόν 151
λιμένας . . καρποῦσθαι 148 ;
προειληφέναι 163
λογίζεται καὶ θεωρεῖ 138
λογίσασθαι 178
λογιστής 135
λογοποιοῦντες, οἱ 4 § 49
λόγος)(σκῆψις 132 ; δόντες
λόγον 181
λοιδορία 159

λοιποὺς εἶναι (= λελεῖσθαι) 172
λύειν 199 ; λύσατε 197
λυσιτελοῦν, τό 180
λωποδυτής 120
μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα 218
μαιμακτηριῶν 189
Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ 81
μᾶλλον . . φοβερώτερον 199
μάταιος 143
μέγας γέγονεν 138 ; μ. ηὐξήθη
160 ; ἦρθη μέγας 162 ; μέγα
καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα 218
μεθύειν, *metaphorical*, 122
μέλλετ' εἰσφέρειν 178 ; μέλλεται
113
μεμνηῖσθαι c. *Acc.* 137
μέμφομαι 99, 223
μὲν . . δέ 'while . . yet'
177, 206 ; μὲν . . μέντοι 75 ;
μὲν without δέ 194 ; μὲν
οὖν 123, 126, 158
μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων 79 ; ἐν τῷ
τῆς πολιτείας ἤθει μένοντες
211
μερὶς οὐ μικρά 169
μέρος, τὸ ἡδικημένον αἰεὶ 183 ;
τῶν κοινῶν τὸ μέρος λαμβά-
νων 200 ; πάντας ἐξείναι
κατὰ μέρος 184 ; οὐκ ἐξιμεν
. . μέρει γέ τινα στρατιωτῶν ;
118 ; ἐν οὐδενὸς μέρει 172 ;
ἐν προσθήκης μέρει 216
μέσῳ κείμενα, ἐν 76
μετ' ἀληθείας 159 ; μετ' ἐκείνου
75
μεταδιδῶσι c. *Gen.* (or *Acc.*)
216
μεταξύ : τὸν μ. χρόνον 113
μετάστασις and μεταβολή 167
μέτοιχοι 112
μέχρι του 132 ; τοὺς μέχρι—
έτων 189
μῆ : οὐδὲν μῆ γένηται 20 ; μῆ
νομίζετε 78 ; μῆ κωλύων 85 ;
μῆ μοι (λεγέτω τις) 88 ;

- ἡνίκ' ἂν μὴ δυναίμεθα 103 ;
 δέδοικα μὴ φανῶμεν 141 ; μὴ
 λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ἧ 151 ; μὴ
 τί γε 177 ; ἃ μὴ δεῖ 204
 μηδεῖς : διαπράξασθαι ταῦθ' ἃ
 μηδεῖς πῶποτ' ἄλλος 169 ;
 μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐμποδῶν 88,
 195 ; μηδενὶ . . ὑπερβολὴν
 λελεῖσθαι 211
 μήτε . . τε 136
 μικρά = ὀλίγα 188, 200
 μῆμοι γελοίων 173
 μισθοφορά 220
 μόγῃς 190
 μόνον οὐχί 202 ; μόνον . . ἀν-
 θρώπων 210
 μύρια τέλαντα—ἀνήγαγον 209
 μυστήρια : μετὰ τὰ μ. 190
 νεανικὸν φρόνημα 218
 νῆ Δία 80
 νικᾶ, τοὺς φίλους 93 ; Λακεδαι-
 μονίους ἐνίκων 93 ; νικῶν
 124
 νόμῳ κατακλείειν 105
 νομοθέτας καθίστατε 196
 νοσοῦσι, Θετταλοῖς 168
 νῦν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ πρότερον 76 ;
 καὶ μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν 122 ;
 νῦν δέ 135 ; νῦν ἔδει 72
 νυνὶ with past tense 168 ; νυνὶ
 δὴ 134
 ξενικὸν τρέφειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ 92
 ξένοις, τὰ τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς 149
 ὁ : see τά, τήν, τό, τόν, τοῦ
 ὁδός, *metaphorical*, 198 ; ὁδοὺς
 (ἐπισκευάζομεν) 214
 οἷ . . ἀσελγείας 79
 οἷδ' ἀκούων 92 ; οἷδεν *c. Inf.*
 'knows how to' 116
 οἰκεῖος 75, 213
 οἰκείως 75 ; ἔχειν 78
 οἰκοδομήματα (*public*) 210
 οἴκοι μένων βελτίων 221
 οἶμαι 118, 176 ; οἶμαι δεῖν *c.*
Nom. or Acc. 143 ; οἶεται
 repeated 75 ; ὤμεθα 194
 οἶος ἔμπειρος 171 ; οἶός ἐστι
 79 ; οἶός τε 113 ; οὐδαμῶς
 οἶον τε ψεύδεσθαι 171 ; οἶον
 ἂν βούλοισθε 74 ; οἶα . .
 ὀκνῶ . . ὀνομάσαι 173
 ὀκνεῖτ' ἐξιέναι 177
 ὀλίγος : ἐν ὀλίγῳ (*and ἐν*
λόγῳ) 60 and 203
 ὀλιγορήσετε, εἰ 143
 ὄλον and τὸ ὄλον 176 ; τῶν
 ὄλων πραγμάτων 129, 184
 ὄλως 162, 168, 222
 ὄνειδῇ φέρειν 206
 ὄνειροπολεῖν 122
 ὀξύτατοι, γινῶναι 201
 ὁποῖος and ὁποῖός τις 211 ;
 ὁποῖ' ἅττα 218
 ὅπως : (1) *relative Adv.*, indirect
 form of πῶς ; οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως
 . . ἡσυχίαν σχήσει 140 ;
 ὁρᾶτε . . ὅπως καὶ τὰ πρά-
 γματ' ἐνδέχεται καὶ δυνή-
 σεσθ' ἐξιέναι καὶ μισθὸν
 ἔξετε 205
 (2) with *Superl.* ὅπως τις
 λέγει (*βοηθεῖν*) κάλλιστα
 καὶ τάχιστα 166
 (3) in *pure final* clauses :
 δεῖ . . ταχειῶν τριήρων . . ,
 ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις
 πλέῃ 91
 (4) in *object* clauses : παρα-
 σκεύασσθαι . . ὅπως βοη-
 θήσετε καὶ μὴ πάθητε
 127 ; τοῦτο προλαβεῖν, ὅπως
 σώσομεν 53 *n* and 186 ;
 σκοπεῖσθε τοῦτο . . , ὅπως
 μὴ δόξομεν 38 *n* and 158 ;
 σκοπεῖσθε τοῦτο, ὅπως μὴ
 ἐροῦσιν 167 ; ὅπως μὴ
 πεισθόμεθα . . σκέψασθαι
 185
 (5) ὅπως μὴ in independent

- clause: ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε 89
 ὀργίζεται and λογίζεται 117
 ὀρεγόμενος, τοῦ πλείονος 117
 ὀρχεῖσθαι, τοιαῦτα 173
 ὀρώ c. Part. 185
 ὅσπερ: ὅσπερ καὶ 199
 ὅστις (= ὥστε) ἀγνοεῖ 141;
 ὅστις ἂν 99; ὅ τι ἂν εἴποι
 τις 202; ὅτου δέοιθ' ἡ πόλις
 220
 ὅσω . . ἐτοιμότατα, τοσοῦτω
 μᾶλλον 167
 ὅτε 'now that' 125
 οὐ and μὴ 151; οὐ and οὐδέ
 73, 87; οὐ μένουσι 113; οὐ
 μέντοι . . γε 122; οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλά 114, 129; οὐ πάνυ 207.
 δεῖ . . οὐκ c. Inf. 114; οὐκ ἂν
 ἄλλως ἔχοι 191; οὐκ εἰς
 μακράν 174; οὐκ ἐχθρός; 202.
 οὐχ ὥσπερ 106; οὐχ influenc-
 ing verbs in both the follow-
 ing clauses 201. οὐχὶ καλῶς
 πεπραχθαι 159; οὐχὶ μέμφομαι
 223; οὐχὶ πάλαι 186
 οὗ χρήσιμος 76
 οὐδεῖς πω 135; οὐδέν cogn.
 Acc. 115; οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάττων
 153; οὐδ' εἰς ἓνα 110
 οὐδέν ἄλλο ἢ 186; οὐδέν μὴ
 γένηται 20; οὐδενὸς ἐλάττων
 135; οὐδενί (or οὐδέσι) 33
 and 143; οὐδένων βελτίους
 171
 οὐδέποτε—μὴ γένηται 118
 οὐκέτι . . ἀδικεῖ 203
 οὔτε . . τε 123
 οὔτοι παντελῶς 87
 οὗτος: τούτου (of Philip) 74;
 ταύτην (of Macedonia etc.)
 75, 104, 210; ταύτης (of
 Chalcidice) 201; ταῦτα re-
 sumptive of ἐκεῖνο 178
 οὕτω 81, 84; οὕτω πως 146;
 οὕτως 162; οὕτωςί 197
 ὀφείλει 162
 ὀφλισκάνων, ἀνοίαν 152; αἰ-
 σχύνην and ἀνανδρίαν ὀφλεῖν
 117; αἰσχύνην ὠφλήκατε
 159
 ὄχλος 110
 παθεῖν τι 81, 82; without
 Art. after dem. Pron. 199
 πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθε 78
 πανούργος 128
 παντὸς εἶναι 142; παντὸς εἵνεκα
 156; "παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ
 δυνατόν" 191; πάντων αἰ-
 σχιστα 201; τοὺς πάντας 90
 παρά: (1) c. Gen. τὰς π. τοῦ
 δαίμονος ἐλπίδας 118; τὴν π. τῶν
 θεῶν εὐνοίαν 157, 176; τῆς
 παρ' ἐκείνων εὐνοίας 136;
 (λόγος) ὁ π. τῆς ἡμετέρας
 πόλεως 167; (ἰσχυρὸς γέγο-
 νεν) παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν 213;
 τοῖς . . π. τῶν ἱατρῶν σιτίοις
 διδομένοις 219
 (2) c. Dat. π. πᾶσιν 159;
 παρ' ὑμῖν 200
 (3) c. Acc. παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ
 ῥώμην . . π. τὴν ἡμετέραν
 ἀμέλειαν 81; π. τὸν καιρὸν
 105; π. τὴν ἀξίαν 150; π.
 πάντα 176
 παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι 4 § 3 l.
 30, 3 § 23 l. 209
 παράδοξον . . τι 196
 παρακαταστήσαντας 95
 παρακρουόμενος 160
 παρακύψαντα 94
 παραλαμβάνειν 134
 παράλειψις (in rhetoric) 159 n
 παραπεπτωκότα καιρὸν 123
 παρασκευάζεσθαι 113; παρα-
 σκευάσασθαι 127; παρεσκευά-
 σθαι 88
 παρασκευή 83, 103, 110
 παρασπάζεται 129
 παραταξομένην 92.

- παραινέχ' ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος 208
 παραχωρεῖν 223
 παρέσται τοῖς πράγμασιν 128 ;
 παρήσαν (αλ. παρήσαν) ἐπὶ
 τὸ βῆμα 27 and 133 f ; κἂν
 μὴ πάντα παρῇ 118 ; παρὼν
 καὶ ἀκούων 187 ; τὸ παρόν
 135, 197 ; τὰ παρόντα 188,
 195, 204 ; τοῖς παροῦσι 76
 παρεωρᾶσθαι (mistake for
 περιώφθαι) 46 n
 παρεῶσθαι 172
 παρίοντες, οἱ 207 ; τοῖς παρ-
 οῦσι 184
 παριστάντες 186 ; παραστήσαι
 86 ; παρίσταται μοι 185 ;
 παραστήσεται 143
 παρόμοιον ἐστὶν ὅπερ καὶ 29
 and 136
 παροξυνθῆναι 132
 παρρησία 218
 πᾶσχειν ὅτιοῦν 100 ; πεισόμεθα
 . . κακῶς 185
 πατάξῃ 115
 πεξέταιροι 170
 πεξῇ 210
 πείθω : πείσεται ἀκολουθήσει
 89 ; πέπεισμαι 186
 πέμπουσιν, τὰς πομπὰς 95 ;
 πέμψωσιν, Βοηδρόμια 216
 πεπαρρησίασμαι 123
 πεπηγέναι . . ἀθάνατα 78
 περαίνω 99
 περί : (1) c. Gen. π. τῶν
 αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι 106 ; π.
 χρημάτων πόρου 143 ; π.
 τοῦ . . σκοπεῖν 186
 (2) c. Acc. π. αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ
 165
 περιγίγνεται 177 ; περιγίγνεσθαι
 199
 περιερχόμεθα (and περιόντες)
 121 f
 περιέσται 143 ; περίεστι 181 ;
 περιῆμεν 177
 περιηρημένοι 216
 περιόντες 81, 121
 περιουσίαν, εἰς 211 ; ταῖς περιου-
 σίαις ταῖς οἴκοι 219
 περιστήσεται 195 ; περιστῇ 156 ;
 περιστάσης ἂν 194
 περιστοιχίζεται 80
 πηλίνους, οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς
 96
 πικρῶς 179
 πλεῖν = ἐκπλεῖν 134 ; τοὺς
 πλέοντας τὴν θάλατταν 106 ;
 πλευσόμεθα and πλευσούμεθα
 19
 πλέον οὐδὲν ποιούντες 106
 πλευστέον 85
 πληγείς and πατάξῃ 115
 πληγῆς, ἔχεται τῆς 116
 πλήθος δυνάμειως 75
 πλὴν εἰ 203 ; πλὴν μικρῶν
 (v. l. μικρῶ or μικρόν) 68 n
 and 222
 πλησίον 4 §§ 7, 12 ; 3 § 17
 πλοῖα 86, 107, 180
 ποῖ δέ, δῆ, or οὖν ; 19
 ποιεῖν and πράττειν 73, 75,
 201, 223 ; ταῦτα ποιεῖν 89 ;
 ποιήσαντες and πορίσαντες
 90 ; ὅς' ἂν ποιήσωσιν 170 ;
 λόγον ποιεῖσθαι 187 ; λόγους
 ποιεῖσθαι 166, ποιῶμαι 187
 πολεμεῖν 147
 πόλις : τῆς πόλεως ἔσται 89
 πολιτεία 121, 131 ; πολιτείας
 ἦθει 211
 πολιτενομένοις, ταῦτα 214 ;
 πεπολιτευμένοις Middle 159 ;
 τῶν πεπολιτευμένων Pass. c.
 Dat. 155
 πολλῶν λόγων καὶ θορύβου
 γιγνομένου 189
 πορισθεῖσα, παρασκευή 84
 πορισταὶ 105
 πόρος χρημάτων 101
 πόσον πολεμεῖτε χρόνον 178
 Ποτείδαia (more correct than
 Ποτίδαia) 3 n, 75

- πότε repeated 80
 πράγμα 79, 85; πράγματα 72, 83, 143, 147, 153, 156, 185, 187, 195; πραγμάτων καιροί 113; ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν 167
 πράττειν and ποιεῖν 73, 75, 201, 223; πράττειν 'aim at' 140; πράττοντας 218; ἐπράξαμεν εἰρήνην 193; c. *Dat.* τῶν πεπραγμένων 155, and τοῖς πεπραγμένοις 166
 πρεσβευομένους 150
 πρὶν ἂν 179; πρὶν . . ὑποθέσθαι 187, πρᾶξαι 199; πρὶν ὑπαρξάντων 29 *n* and 137 *n*
 πρὸ τούτων 88, τῶν πραγμάτων 117
 προβάλλεσθαι 116
 προελήλυθεν, *eis pân* 188
 προήκοντα, *eis τοῦτο* 185
 προήρημαι 206; προήρηται 169
 προῖεσθαι, meanings of, 135; προώμεθα 195
 προθύμως, βοηθεῖν 194; ποιεῖν 200
 προκινδυνεύειν 177
 προλαμβάνων 103, μὴ προλαμβάνετε 83, προεἰληφεν 117; προεἰληφέναι 163; προλαβεῖν 186
 προπίνειν: προπέποται 208
 πρὸς: (1) *c. Dat.* τῇ γῇ 104; τῇ χώρᾳ 104, 151
 (2) *c. Acc.* τὸ πράττεσθαι 130; τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκβάν 137 *l.* 100; χάριν 123, 187; *Acc.* of subject or object, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλημάτων 133 *n*
 προσαγαγόμενον 161
 προσδεῖ and ἐνδεῖ 146
 προσεδρεύσει 143
 προσέξει, εἵπερ 167
 προσήκε 73; μὴ προσήκουσα 114
 προσηκόντως 74
 προσθήκη, ἐν 168; ἐν προσθήκης μέρει 216
 προσκαθεδεῖται 143
 προσλαμβάνων 162
 προσενέμνησθε 183
 πρόσδος, χρημάτων 115
 προσοφέλετε 217
 προσπεριβάλλεται 79
 προσπολεμήσαι, φοβερόν 176
 προσποριεῖται 100
 προστάται (leading politicians) 212
 πρότερον, pleonastic, 83
 προτιθέναι 71; προτεθῇ 204
 προτρέπειν 158
 προὑπαρξάντων 137
 προὑπτον κακόν 200
 πρόφασις: ἡ πρώτη *πρ.* 164; προφάσεις 94, 179
 πρώτην, τήν 92, 186
 πρῶτον (or πρότερον), τὸ μὲν 65 *n* and 215 *n*
 πρώην 87
 πταίσει, τι 174
 πταῖσμα 164
 πυκτεύουσι 115 *l.* 362
 πυνθάνεσθαι 223; -ομένων 177
 πῶς; followed by ὅταν 120; πῶς ἔχουσι Φιλίππῳ 170; πῶς ἂν οἴεσθε . . ἐλθεῖν; 151
 ῥαδίως 141; ἔσται 104; ψευδο-μενοι 120
 ῥαθυμία 79
 ῥαθυμῶ: ἔρραθυμηκότες 141
 ῥάσας 139
 ῥάων 135; ῥᾶον φυλάττειν ἡ κτήσασθαι 179 *l.* 241; ῥᾶ-στον αὐτὸν ἔξαπατῆσαι 205
 ῥήγμα 175
 ῥητῶν κάπορρητῶν, εἶναι κύριον 129
 ῥήτωρ and στρατηγός 182
 ῥοπή 176

σαθρὸν ἦ, κἄν 174
 σαφῶς οὕτως 197
 σθένος, poetic and archaic, 191
 σιτίους 67 and 219
 σκοπῶν 143; σκοπεῖσθε 167; ἐσκεμμένος 126
 στενὸν καταστήσεται, εἰς 149
 στρατεύεσθαι 215
 στρατηγείσθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου 116; τῶν στρατηγουμένων 95, 120; ἐστρατηγηκότες . . ἔσεσθε 192
 στρατηγός and ῥήτωρ 182; στρατηγοί, tried on capital charges, 120
 στρατιώτας = πεζοὺς 90
 στρατιωτικά (χρήματα) 144, 146; στρατιωτικούς (πόρους) 204
 στρέμμα 175
 συγκατασκευάσαντες 202
 συγκεκροτημένοι 170
 συγκρύψαι 174
 συζῆ 140
 συλῶσιν (τὰ πλοῖα) 180
 συμβαίνει 159; ἂν συμβῇ τι 169
 συμβουλεύω: συνεβούλευσαν 72
 συμμαχικά, τά 168
 συμμορίαί 181 f
 συμπαραθεῖτε 116
 συμπλακῇ, ἐπειδάν 175
 συμπονεῖν 164
 συμφέρον, συνοῖσον 123; συνοῖσιν 124, 224
 συμφοράς, φέρειν τὰς 164
 συναμφότερον 168
 συνανήλωσε 137
 συνάρασθαι 150
 συνελόντι 72
 συνεχεῖ, παρασκευῇ 103
 συνεχῶς πολεμήσει 88
 συνίστημι: συστή 163
 σύνοιδα 187
 συνόντας, εἰς τοὺς 173

σύνταξις 146, 220
 συστρατεύεσθαι 92, 93
 σφαλεροὶ σύμμαχοι 132
 σφετερίζεται (suggested for τρέψεται) 25 n
 σφόδρα 160, 165
 σχεδόν 224
 σχολάζειν 223
 σώσειν 202; σεσώκατε 178
 σωτηρία (τῶν πραγμάτων) 127, 207
 σωφρόνων . . ἀνθρώπων 205; τοῖς γε σώφροσιν 153
 τὰ τῆς τροφῆς 149; τὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν 148
 τακτόν, χρόνον 90
 ταμίαι 105
 τάξει 200; ἐν ἴσῃ τάξει 221; τῆς τάξεως παραχωρεῖν 224; εἰς τάξιν ἡγαγον 222
 ταξίαρχοι 97
 ταπεινότερος 135
 ταχείας τριήρεις 91
 ταῦτόν ὅπερ καὶ 128
 τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει c. Acc. 119
 τέλειον (ἀγαθόν) 219
 τελευταῖα, τά 87
 τελευτή 187
 τέως, for (τέως) ἔως, 175
 τηλικαύτην 'so small' 92
 τὴν ἄλλως 206; τὴν πρώτην 92; τὴν ταχίστην 127
 τίθημι· τεθήκασιν 199; θείη c. Gen. 136; τοῖς θεῖσι (τοὺς νόμους) 200; μὴ θῆσθε (νόμον) 196
 τίς; τί (λαβόντα) τί (δεῖ ποιεῖν) 111; τί ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ἔχοι 213; τί γράψω; τί χαρίσσωμαι; 208; τί οὖν ἐστί τοῦτο; 73; τί ποιοῦντων (ὑμῶν, ὁ χρόνος διελήλυθεν) 178; τί χρὴ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγεῖσθαι; 80; τίνα . . καὶ ὃν τρόπον 186

τις *enclitic*: δυνάμιν τινα κε-
κτημένους 157, *cp.* 193
τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς 138; τὸ ὅλον
176; τὸ τῆς τύχης 82, 119;
τὸ τῶν χρημάτων 99

τοιγαροῦν 112

τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ . .
οὕτως 141; τὸν Παίονα 149
[τόκοις], ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις 31
and 141

τόπος 75, 102; *Pl.* 158

τοσαύτην 'so small' 92; το-
σαῦθ' ἕτερα 100

τότε μέν, νῦν δέ 215; τότε
(= ἔπειτα) 202

τοῦ λοιποῦ 84

[τρέψηται] 25 and 129

τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας 153

τριακόσιοι, (οἱ) 181 f

τριηραρχεῖν 183

τριηραρχοί 112

τριήρεις, ταχείας 91

τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τουτί
188

τροφή 89, 92, 99, 149

τύπτω, defective verb, 115 n

τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν, ἐπὶ τῇν
168

τύχης, τὸ τῆς 82, 119

τυραννίς *c. Gen.* 183

ὑβρίζει 200

ὑβριστής 150

ὑμῶν αὐτῶν (*vestri iuris*) γενέ-
σθαι 77, *γενομένους* 183

ὑπάρχειν 76, 86; ἐθέλοντας
83 l. 114; μέγα ὑπάρχει
204; τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν (χώραν)
151; τῶν ὑπαρχόντων 158;
ὑπῆρχον κεκτημένοι 193;
ὑπῆρξε 168; ὑπηργμένω
135 f

ὑπέρ: (1) *c. Gen.* = περί 19, 72,
118, 120, 127, 130, 158.

ὑπέρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων
177, *cp.* 4 § 3 l. 26; ὑπέρ

τῶν πραγμάτων, αἰσχύνη 80;
ὑπὲρ ὧν φοβοῦνται 133. ὑπέρ
) (κατά 122. ὑπέρ and ὑπό
c. Gen. 199. (2) *c. Acc.*
ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν 159

ὑπερβήσεται 114

ὑπερβολή 210

ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους 160

ὑπερογκον (δύναμιν) 92

ὑπήκουεν 210

ὑπηρέτου μέρει, ἐν 216

ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου λοιπὸν 179

ὑποθέσθαι 187

ὑπόθεσις 186; *Pl.* 166

ὑπομνήσαι *c. dupl. Acc.* 183

ὑποστειλ-άμενος 123; -ασθαι
143

ὑποσχέσθαι 119

ὑπόσχεσις 85

ὑστάτους . . εἰπόντας, τοὺς
142

ὑστερεῖν 114

ὑστερίζειν 110; ὑστεριούμεν
103

φαίνω: ἐφάνη τι 168

φανακίζειν 114

φέρειν ὀνειδῆ 206, τὰς συμ-
φοράς 164

φημι δεῖν 85, δὴ 143, δὴ δεῖν
166, 179. φασίν, of histori-
cal tradition 87; exception-
ally followed by ὥς 121.
φήσαι *Opt.* (exceptionally
used for φήσεις) 31 n and
142

φιλοπραγμοσύνη 140

φιλοτιμία 158, 171 f

φοβεροὶ φύλακες 154

φόβος 194

φροντίδος καὶ βουλῆς 187

φυλάξαι) (κῆσασθαι 150;
φυλάξας 103; φυλαττομένοις
74

φυλῆς, γυμνασίαρχος τῆς 111

φύσει καὶ αἰεὶ 148

- φωνήν ἀφίεις, *metaphorical*, 127
 φωρᾶται 165
- χάρις 114, 200
 χειμαδίῳ χρῆσθαι Δήμνῳ 104
 χειμῶν 103
 χειροθήεις 218
 χειροτονεῖν 102; ἐχειροτονεῖτε
 95; κεχειροτονημένος 99
 χείρους τῶν ὑπαρχόντων 158
 χορηγός 111
 χρῆσθαι *c. cogn. Acc.* 104 f;
 πράγμασιν 128 f, 159; τί
 χρησόμεθα τούτῳ; 191; χρώ-
 μεθα 95
 χρηστά (τὰ πράγματα) 156;
 (ὑπὸ τῶν) χρηστῶν (τούτων)
 212
 χρῆται καὶ συζῆ 140
 χωρία 75, 163, 201
 χωρὶς οἰκούντας, τοὺς 112; χ.
 τούτων 159; χ. τῆς αἰσχύνης
 194
- ψηφιζομένων 177; ἐψηφισμένοι
 149
 ψήφισμα 200; ψ. κενόν 119
- ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, position of,
 74, 138
 ὦρα 177; ὦραν ἔτους 104
 ὥς *c. Acc. Pers.* 121, 183; ὥς
 ἀληθῶς, 97; ὥς ἂν ἐλὼν τις
 ἔχοι 76; ὥς ἂν κάλλιστ' (ἔχοι)
 147; ὥς ἂν συμφέροι 132;
 ὥς βούλεσθε 146; ὥς . . δέοι
 149; ὥς ἐγνωκότων καὶ
 πεπεισμένων 83; ὥς οὐκ ἔδει
 114; ὥς ἐπιών 147; ὥς
 φασι 79
 ὥσπερ, after τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον,
 114; before τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον 91
 ὥστε . . δέον 185, ἐλπίζετε
 178, ὁρᾷ 211
 ὦταν 152, 213
 ὠφελεῖν μηδέν 207; πάντ' ὠφελεῖ
 169

ENGLISH INDEX

TO THE INTRODUCTION AND THE NOTES

The numbers refer to the pages

- Abel, Otto, quoted xxviii f
accusative, predicative 120
l. 421
adjective (ἡμους) assimilated
to gender and number of
subst. 85; neuter adj. 131
Aegae, view from xxix f
Alexander I, the Philhellene
xxxi
alliance, formula in treaties
of 192
alliteration 116 l. 371, 198
l. 98
Amadocus 139 n
American Journal of Philology
(*AJP*) quoted 90, 130, 133,
137
Amphipolis xxxv f, xxxix f,
82, 131, 138, 160, 180
anacoluthon 212 l. 242
antistrophe 130 l. 37, 136
l. 96
Aorist and Present 83, 216;
gnomic 137; referring to
previous context or previous
proposals 222 f
apodosis, double 71
Apollodorus and the festival-
fund lxviii, 97
Archelaus I, xxxiii
Aristeides, (1) the *statesman*,
207; (2) the *rhetorician*,
12, 19, 25, 35, 39, 42, 46,
49, 56, 62, 63, 65
Aristotle's *Constitution of*
Athens quoted 72, 90, 95,
96, 98, 109, 111, 112, 183,
214, 216
Artabazus 94
article, omission of 163 l. 83,
199 l. 107; position of 219;
not repeated 74; repeated
for emphasis 151; separated
from noun 169 l. 143; article
with infinitive 130, 150
l. 216, 160 l. 54, 187 *ult.*;
with a question turned into
substantival clause 186 l. 17
asyndeton 90, 111, 193, 216
Athenian privateers 180;
duration of Athenian supre-
macy 209
Athenians, urged to *personal*
service 90, 189, 223

- Athens, the deliverer of Hellas 178 l. 226; decay of military spirit 215; duration of military service 189; exemptions from military service 198; festal processions 96; cost of festivals 110; the fleet 85; houses 211, 215; military officers 95; water-supply 214
- Bacon quoted 73
- Baran, A., quoted lxvii, 139 ad fin.
- Bekker's *Anecdota* 19, 32, 33, 64
- 'benevolences' 180 l. 263
- Blass, Prof. F., quoted etc. xviii, 94, 102, 109, 199, 204, 222, and passim
- Boeckh, A. 100 etc.
- Boeotian War 74
- Brougham, Lord 71, 163, 175, 224
- Butcher, Prof. S. H. xxi, xxv
- Butler's *Analogy* 218
- Callias, son of Phrynon (?) 173
- Cersobleptes 139
- Chabrias 93
- Chamberlain, Right Hon. J., quoted 171
- Chares 94, 119, 179 f
- Charidemus, 190
- Chersonesus xxxvii, 86, 116
- chiasmus* 178, 185
- Choricus 36, 40, 42, 45, 46, 164
- Chrysostom, John 20, 29, 47, 56, 165
- Cobet, G. G. 132, 144 etc.
- comparatio compendiarum* 92 l. 198
- conditional clauses, virtual 221 l. 308; conditional sentences 71 l. 1, 75 l. 44, 87 l. 152, 134 l. 67, 177 l. 215
- construction, change of 151 l. 227; interruption of 89 l. 172
- Corinthian War 74, 92 f
- Corinthians and Megarians attacked by Athens 206
- Curtius, Ernst, quoted xxix, xxxv
- dative of agent in Dem. 155, 212 l. 233; after verbal subst. 91 l. 183; *Dat. incommodi* 143
- Demosthenes: his life, 384-351 B.C., xv-xxvii; his speeches, 363-c. 352 B.C., *Against Aphobus* xvi, *On the Trierarchic Crown* xviii, *Against Spudias*, *Callicles*, *Conon*, *Androtion* xix, *Leptines* xx, xxxviii, *On the Symmories* xxi, *Against Timocrates* xxii, *For the Megalopolitans* xxiii, *On the Liberty of the Rhodians* xxiii, *Against Aristocrates* xxv
- The First Philippic*, abstract of xlv-xlix; date 1
- The Olynthiacs*, abstract of lii-lxiii, order of lxiii-lxvii
- Against Meidias* 109; the *Prooemia* 71, 72
- evidence for the text of lxix f; MSS lxix f, citations and imitations of lxxii; his general avoidance of *hiatus* lxxii f, 221, 223 (cp. 202 l. 146); general avoidance of three consecutive *short syllables* lxxiii, 130, 157, 160, 175, 192 init. (cp. 202 l. 146); short syllables in satirical passages 94; rhythmical correspondences lxxiii, 94 l. 215
- his avoidance of unpre-

- meditated speech 126 ; compliment to intelligence of his audience 201 ; conciliatory use of pronouns 160 l. 54 ; a fine touch of imagination 117 l. 375 ; repetitions from other speeches xix f, 187 l. 32, 210, 214 l. 258, 215 l. 269, 224 l. 330 ; satirical passages 94, 213 f ; his reform of the trierarchy 182, 183
 Demosthenes and Isocrates 203
 Demosthenes and Thucydides xviii
 Demosthenes (the general) 207
 Dio Cassius 4, 11, 37, 54
 Dionysia 108, 110 f
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus lxxii, 4, 9, 13, 48, 57, 64, 66, 101, 208
 Doxopater 42
 Dupin, Baron F. P. C., author of anonymous *Essais sur Dém.* (1814), 165

 ellipse 110 l. 310
 emphasis produced (1) by position of words 185 (cp. 200 ; (2) by repetition of words 80, 88, 119, 151 l. 233, 164 l. 91, 219 l. 295
 Euboea, Athenian expedition to (357 B.C.) xxxvii, 87, 133 ; (350 or 348) 146
 Eubulus 144-6, 184, 197, 206, 213 f
 euphemism 194 l. 77

 festival-fund 144 f, 197, 204
 Future Indicative, after Relative 128, after *ἄπὸς* (relative Adv.) 140, 205, (in object clauses) 127, 158, 167, 185, 186 ; Future Participle 122, 157 ; Future Perfect 123

 generals, tried on capital charges 120
 generic term at end of enumeration 214, 215
 genitive : acc. attracted to gen. of following relative 158 ; partitive 131, 152, 153, 158, 174 ; with *τιθέναι* 136 l. 88
 Gennadios, A. 129
 Geraestus 107
 Gregorius Corinth. (after 1118 A.D.) 48
 Grote quoted xlix, 83, 84, 98, 115, 128, 139, 148, 168, 189 etc.

 Haliartus 87
 Halm, Karl, quoted 120, 128, 152, 165, 182
 Harcourt, Right Hon. Sir William, quoted 163
 Harpocration lxxi, 5, 27
 Harrison, Miss J., quoted 119, 209
 Hartel, Prof. W. Ritter von, quoted 101, 131, 139, 166, 184, 192, 196, 200
Hēraion teichos xliii, 188
 Hermogenes, citations or imitations of Dem. lxxii, 1, 2, 8, 12, 24, 26, 29, 35, 39, 46, 48, 49, 59, 65, 66, 85, 165, 215
 hexameters in prose 76
hiatus generally avoided by Dem. lxxii, 221, 223 (cp. 202 l. 146)
 Hierax 134
 Holm, Prof. Adolf xxix, 161 etc.
hyperbaton 124

- Illyrians xxix, xlii, 122, 139 ;
 chief of 149
 Imbros 106
 Imperfect of continued action
 71 ; retrospective 95 ; Impf.
 Indicative 207 ; Impf. Infini-
 tive 93 ; Impf. *ἐνίκων* used
 even of single victories 93
 Indicative Fut. and Aor.
 Subj. after *ὅπως* 127 ; Ind.
 retained in indirect dis-
 course 122
 Infinitive, articular 130, 150
 l. 216, 160 l. 54 ; without
 Art. after demonstr. Pron.
 199 l. 107 ; with Nom. and
 Acc. 77, 143
 inscriptions, evidence from,
 30, 58, 86, 95, 96, 127, 134,
 140, 192, 199, 203, 211,
 217 ; *ὅπως* *ἀν* in inser. 91
 interrogative combined with
 relative 186
 Iphicrates 93
 irony 183 l. 286, 195 l. 87,
 217 l. 279
 Isidore of Pelusium lxxii, 16,
 26, 29, 31, 43, 53, 54, 57,
 60
 Jebb, Prof. R. C., quoted 208,
 224
 Joannes Siceliota 215
 Julian 37, 46
 Karlowa quoted 29 *n*, 76, 77,
 155 f, 186 f
 Lacedaemonian *mora* destroyed
 by Iphicrates 93 ; defeat at
 Leuctra and Mantinea 212
 Lampsacus 180
 Leake, Col. W. M., quoted
 103, 138 f
 Lemnos 98, 104, 106
 Libanius, lxxi, 9, 11, 26, 34,
 36, 46, 49, 56, 57, 59, 61,
 62, 199
 Liddell and Scott, corrections
 suggested in 100 l. 252, 195
 l. 81
 Longinus 189 ; [Longinus]
 5, 81
 Lucian lxxi, 67, 85, 125, 142,
 185
 Macedonia, geography xxvii f,
 and early history of xxix f
 Madvig quoted 51, 144
 Magnesia, district of Thessaly
 138, 148, 161, 166
 Marathon 107
 Meidias 109
 Menelaus (*ἱππαρχος*) 98
 mercenaries 180 l. 256
 metaphors derived from (1)
 the body (sinews) 215 ;
 (2) the chase 187 ; (3) the
 public games 212, 213 ;
 (4) military service 224 ;
 (5) naval operations 195 ;
 (6) wrestling 88 l. 157, 175
 l. 195
 Methone xlii, 75, 110, 134,
 138
 Milton quoted 112, 173
 Minucianus 26
 Neuter *Sing.* (*τοῦτο*) of a
 person 220 ; *Pl.* of persons
 78
 Nicephorus Gregoras 29
 Nominative Absolute 99
 l. 243
 Olympiodorus 43
Olynthiacs, *The* lii-lxiii ;
 order of lxiii-lxvii
 Olynthus xxx, xxxv,
 xliv, li, lxvii-lxix, 86,
 139, 157

- Optative, forms of 84 l. 129 ; independent (in quotation) 149 l. 205 ; potential 87
- Paeonia or Paeonians xxvii, xxxvi, 110, 134, 138, 148, 166
- Pagasae xliii f, 110, 134, 138, 148, 166
- Panathenaea 108
- Panathenaic procession 96
- paradox 129 l. 28
- parallelism of form 117 l. 387, 118 l. 401
- participle denoting means 209 l. 209
- Pella, site of xxx
- Perdiccas II xxxii, 210
- Perfect of immediate action 88 l. 159
- Pericles xvii f, 207
- personal construction preferred to impersonal 221 l. 309
- Pherae xliii, 138
- Philip, regarded as a 'barbarian' by Dem. 202 ; his reign down to 351 B.C. xxxiv f ; his character xxxv ; his capture of Amphipolis xl, Pydna xli, Poteidaea xli, Methone xliii ; Philip checked at Thermopylae xliii, 86 ; Philip in Thrace xliv, 139 ; his siege of Ἡραῖον τεῖχος xliii, 188 ; rumours of his illness and death 81 ; his attacks on Olynthus xliv, li ; his cruisers xliv, 91 ; his winter campaigns 103 ; his supposed designs against Thebes 121 ; his negotiations with Persia 121 ; his forts in Illyria 122 ; his sacrifices in quest of renown 169 f
- Philippi xli
- Philippic I, abstract of xlv ; date of l ; unity of 101 f
- Philochorus 101 f
- Philostratus 67 n
- Phocian (or Sacred) War xlii, 162
- Phocians 152, 194 f
- Planudes, Maximus 26 n
- Plato, use of Subj. with μή in cautious assertions 151 f
- pleonasm 116 l. 371
- Pollux 31
- Polystratus 93
- Poteidaea xxx, xli, 75, 110, 134, 138, 161, 168
- Pottier, E., quoted 96
- predicate 133 l. 58 ; in same case as subject of Inf. 209 l. 209
- Priscian 1 n, 10 n, 31 n
- proleptic epithet 78
- protasis, double 71
- Pydna xli, 75, 131, 134, 138
- Rehdantz, C. xliv, 107, 153 f, 206, 207 etc.
- relative clause as subject 113 l. 336 ; relative c. *Fut. Ind.* of purpose 166 ; double relative 73
- rhythm 84 l. 128, 94 l. 215, 107 l. 307, 140 l. 120, 154 l. 260, 176 l. 195, 189 l. 40 ; rhythmical correspondences lxxiii, 94 l. 215
- Rufus 43 n
- Rutherford, Rev. W. G. 121, 142, 191
- Sacred (or Phocian) War xlii, 162
- Sallust's imitation of Dem. 174, 201, 219
- Sauppe, H. 72, 115, 184

- Sciathos 104
 Schaefer, A., quoted xix, 200
 etc.
 Schömann, G. F. 110
 Seneca 47 *n*
 Shakespeare 89, 165, 205
 Sigeum 180
 simile from the human body
 174 *f*
 Social War xxxviii, 94
 Stobaeus 17 *n*, 31 *n*, 43 *n*, 47 *n*
 Stratocles 134
 Subjunctive in questions (*τί*
 γράφω; κτλ.) 208; with *ἄν*,
 after past tense 123 l. 460;
 with *μή* in cautious state-
 ments 151 *f*
 Substantive expressed by
 neuter relative and verb 133
 Suidas 47 *n*, 51 *n*
 synonyms, collocation of, 74,
 138, 140, 143, 160, 187

 terracotta figures 96
 Thasos 104
 Thebans 151 *f*, 212
 Theopompus 170, 171, 172
 Thermopylae, Philip checked
 at xliii, 86, 87, 116
 Thessaly and Thessalians 138,
 148, 161, 163, 166, 168

 Thirlwall, Bp. C., quoted lxx,
 131 etc.
 Tiberius, *Rhet.* 29 *n*, 45 *n*
 Timotheus 168, 213
 toy soldiers 96
 Tozer, Rev. H. F., quoted
 xxx, 104, 107
 trierarchs and trierarchy 112,
 182, 183

 Ulpian 25 *n*

 verse in prose 130

 war-tax 147, 181, 183 *f*
 weakness of intellect a mis-
 fortune sent by the gods
 207
 Weber, P., *Absichtssätze* 90,
 92, 128, 142, 152, 177
 Weil, H. 126, 146, 156, 165,
 179, 184, 197, 204, 217, and
 in the critical notes *passim*
 Westermann, A. 156, 179,
 189, 219 etc.
 Whibley, Mr. L., on the *θεωπι-*
 κόν 144-6
 White, Prof. J. W., quoted 210
 words of good omen used at
 the end of a speech 124,
 156, 184, 224

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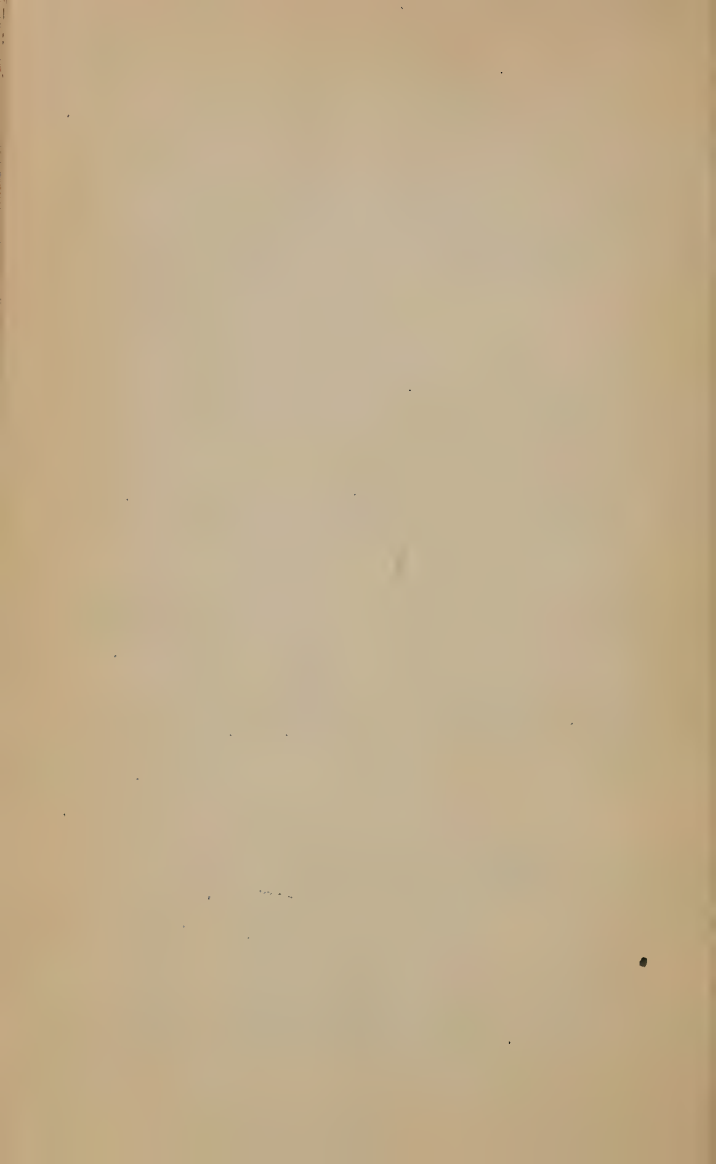
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